

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Tibetan Treasure Literature -- a Study of the Revelations of the Visionary

Master Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa (1829 – 1870)

by

Andreas Doctor

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

CALGARY, ALBERTA

OCTOBER, 2003

© Andreas Doctor 2003



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-612-93510-8

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-612-93510-8

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this dissertation.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de ce manuscrit.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the dissertation.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Abstract

This thesis examines the revelatory tradition of “Treasures” (*gter ma*) found in to the Ancient School (Rnying ma) of Tibetan Buddhism. It consists of four parts.

Part I surveys the genre of Treasure literature discussing central historical and literary elements within this tradition. Following an analysis of the historical development of Treasure identification and taxonomy the contested issue of authenticity is addressed. Here Tibetan and Western studies addressing the legitimacy of the Treasures, often viewed as the whole *raison d'être* of Treasure revelation, are addressed and evaluated. In concluding, an alternative approach to validation of Treasure literature, rooted in the dynamics of the spiritual community, is proposed. Within this proposition the views of the Tibetan philosopher Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912) on Treasure revelation are discussed and presented in translation.

Part II focuses on the life and revelatory activity of the nineteenth century Treasure revealer (*gter ston*) Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa (1829-1870). First, an introduction to biographical sources for Mchog gyur gling pa is provided followed by a detailed survey of the historical circumstances for his Treasure revelations as well as their content.

To illustrate central genres of Treasure literature Part III presents three translations of texts from the Treasure tradition of Mchog gyur gling pa; each of which represents a distinct genre of Treasure literature: the fundamental *tantra* (*rtsa rgyud*) spoken by a buddha; the meditation ritual (*las byang*) adapted from the *tantra* to suit the

ordinary practitioner; and the instruction (*khrid*) by a representative of the tradition outlining the practical application of the ritual.

Finally, part IV provides new editions of all Tibetan texts presented in translation.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Leslie Kawamura, Department of Religious Studies, University of Calgary, for his kind and insightful guidance of my studies throughout the time I have been a student in Canada. I would also like to thank Dr. Wayne McCready and Dr. Eva Neumaier for many helpful discussions, comments and suggestions that greatly improved the final product. In Nepal, I am indebted to many lamas and monks at Ka-Nying Shedrub Ling Monastery, in particular the tulku Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, Chokling Rinpoche, and Phagchok Rinpoche, who so kindly supported my research by granting transmission and explanation for the texts presented in translation. Finally, I like to thank the Danish Research Agency for its generous financial support throughout my doctoral studies.

Table of Contents

Approval Page	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
 Part I: Discoveries from the Timeless Realm - The Tibetan Treasure Tradition.....	 1
Introduction.....	2
Defining Treasures.....	6
Authenticity in the Tibetan Treasures.....	29
Mi pham's View -- A New Hermeneutics?	57
Notes on the Translation	69
<i>An Examination of the Treasure Revealers</i>	70
 Part II: The New Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa	 87
Introduction.....	88
An Auspiciously Curling Tune	90
A Garland of Lives.....	101
Seven Descents	106
Other Authors in The New Treasures	140
 Part III: Translations from the <i>Zab bdun phur pa</i> Treasure Cycle.....	 147
Introduction to the Translations	148
Notes for the Translations and the Tibetan Texts	154
<i>The Sacred Tantra of the Great Purpose for the Four Kīlas</i>	155
<i>The Practice Manual of Combined Activity</i>	157
<i>The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders</i>	174
 Part IV: Tibetan Texts.....	 216
Tibetan Text for <i>An Examination of the Treasure Revealers</i>	217
Tibetan Text for <i>The Sacred Tantra of the Great Purpose of the Four Kīlas</i>	224
Tibetan Text for <i>The Practice Manual of Combined Activity</i>	226
Tibetan Text for <i>The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders</i>	231
 Bibliography	 253
 Appendix A: <i>Zab bdun phur pa</i> texts contained in <i>The New Treasures</i>	 268

Part I: Discoveries from the Timeless Realm - The Tibetan Treasure
Tradition

Introduction

In the Ancient School (Rnying ma) of Tibetan Buddhism we find a transmission of Buddhist teaching known as the “Treasure tradition” (*gter lugs*), a religious system that only in recent years has come to the attention of the modern academy.¹ This tradition

¹ Although the Treasure tradition for long was of marginal interest to Western scholars the last two decades has witnessed a significant increase in works on this tradition. The first major study in English was Dargyay 1979 who researched the rise and development of the Ancient School based on late nineteenth and twentieth century Tibetan historical surveys (‘Jam mgon 1976b; Bdud ‘joms 1996, transl. Dudjom 1991). Gyatso has been the most prolific writer on the Treasure tradition and has published a series of books and articles on a wide range of historical and hermeneutical topics related to the Treasures (1981; 1986; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000; n.d.). Thondup has translated a recent survey of the Treasures by Rdo grub chen bstan pa’i nyi ma (1865-1926) (1986), contributed his own findings regarding transmission and authenticity (1990), and written on the spiritual tradition stemming from the master ‘Jigs med gling pa (1729-1798) (1996). This tradition has also been studied by Goodman on several occasions (1983; 1992). Other recent major contributions are Aris 1989 (a critical study of the Treasure revealer Padma gling pa (1450-1521)); Schwieger 1990 (a study of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* Treasure collection); Mayer 1996: 70-90 (describing the Indian philosophical background for the Tibetan Treasure system); Germano 1998 (an anthropological study of contemporary Treasure revelation in Tibet); Kapstein 2000 (a discussion of authenticity regarding the Treasures); and Martin 2001 (a study of *bon* Treasures with much relevance for the Buddhist Treasure tradition). See also Doctor 2002 for a catalogue of the revelations of Mchog gyur gling pa. In addition to these sources, several translations of Treasure literature have been published (e.g. Douglas 1978; Schmidt 1989; Tsogyal 1999). For lists of major Tibetan surveys on the Treasure tradition see Gyatso 1994: 284, no. 10; and 1996: 161, no. 2. It should be noted that the Tibetan *bon* religion likewise contains a transmission of Treasure that in many ways is similar to the Treasure revelations of the Ancient School. This study, however, focuses exclusively on this latter system. For an excellent survey of the *bon* Treasure system see Martin 2001.

propagates the reverence of religious material known as “Treasure” (*gter ma*), blessed words and objects, that, it is claimed, originate in the enlightened intent of buddhas and bodhisattvas. On a broader map, the Treasures belong to a tripartite system of scriptural and oral transmission defined by the Ancient School as the “three great transmissions” (*babs so chen po gsum*) consisting of the “long lineage of Transmitted Precepts” (*ring brgyud bka’ ma*), the “short lineage of Treasure” (*nye brgyud gter ma*), and the “profound Pure Vision Teachings” (*zab mo dag snang*).² According to the Ancient School, the Treasures are most often spiritual instructions concealed by enlightened beings for the purpose of discovery at a later predestined time when their message will invigorate the Buddhist teaching and deepen spiritual understanding.³ Central to this process is the figure of the Treasure revealer (*gter ston*) - the person who acts as a medium for the re-emergence of this inspired material into the human world.⁴ Beginning in the eleventh

² The borders between these three systems are often fluid. For example, ‘Jam mgon kong sprul 1976: 650 explains that several of Mchog gyur gling pa’s (1829-1870) Treasures are better considered Transmitted Precepts due to the nature of their content. See also Gyatso 1992: 98; Chokling 2001: 6, 9.

³ Although the Treasures predominantly consist of spiritual teachings a wide variety of other kinds of Treasure exist, such as various ritual objects, precious stones, gold etc. This manifold nature of the Treasures will be returned to below. See also Gyatso 1994; 1998: 161, no. 1.

⁴ The richest source for biographical information on the Treasure revealers is ‘Jam mgon kong sprul’s vast hagiographical survey of the main actors in the Treasure tradition covering the majority of important Treasure revealers from the tenth to the nineteenth century (‘Jam mgon 1976b). The most comprehensive biographical study of Treasure revealers available in English is Dudjom 1991 listing biographical data of several important Treasure revealers. Other studies in English discuss the following revealers: Thang stong rgyal po (1361-1485) (Gyatso 1981); ‘Jigs med gling pa (Gyatso 1998); Padma gling pa (Harding 2003; Aris 1989); and Mchog gyur gling pa (Tobgyal 1988).

century and continuing up to the present, the Ancient School identifies a large number of Treasure revealers and grants authoritative status to their discoveries.⁵ The idea that religious truth lies concealed within the world of phenomena awaiting discovery by spiritually gifted people is by no means a concept exclusive to the Ancient School nor Tibetan Buddhism as a whole. Throughout Buddhist literature there are numerous descriptions of teachings being inherently present in the phenomenal world ready to be perceived by individuals in possession of inspired consciousness. Accordingly, spiritual revelations have surfaced on numerous occasions throughout the course of Buddhist history.⁶ Where the Ancient School is unique, at least in the Tibetan context, is therefore not in its acceptance of revealed truth but rather in its institutionalization of such spiritual discovery and its ability to maintain a continued revelatory output.⁷ Considering the fluidity of the Buddhist canons in India and the central role of scriptural production and revelation in the religious life of medieval Indian Buddhism where the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions continuously accommodated, accepted, and authenticated inspired revelation as the genuine voice of the buddha(s) (Davidson 1990; 2002a), it is paradoxical that the Tibetans, in their attempt to adopt and preserve the Indian Buddhist traditions, would abandon this approach to revelation and give rise to an essentially non-

⁵ Most traditional accounts date Sangs rgyas bla ma (considered the first revealer) to the eleventh century. Prats 1979: 256 places him in the late tenth century but his dates remain uncertain (Schwieger 1990: XXIX, no. 14).

⁶ Commentaries on the Treasure tradition have often pointed to this fact in reply to criticism. See also Gyatso 1994: 277; Mayer 1996: 75-82; and Kapstein 2000.

⁷ To this day the Treasure tradition continues to reveal religious matter. For accounts of such contemporary Treasure revealers see Germano 1998 and Hanna 1994.

Mahāyānic notion of a closed canon.⁸ Still, based on this concept the Treasure tradition has, since its early days, found itself at the center of disputes of authenticity, defending the validity of its scriptures against the criticism of skeptics. We shall return to this discussion below but first some basic philosophical and taxonomical designations of the Treasure system and their implications on the hermeneutics of validation must be addressed. The Treasure tradition is vast and intricate in terms of both historical and literary development and many features still await a thorough study. The present work seeks to address merely a few of these elements. First the complexity of clearly defining the Treasures will be analyzed followed by a discussion of the major themes involved in the polemical literature on Treasure revelation. Here it will be argued that important aspects of Treasure hermeneutics previously have been ignored resulting in a predominantly stagnant and unimaginative eristical dialogue. Finally, an alternative means of Treasure validation, based on the religious intuition of a devotional community, will be proposed. It will be argued that this approach can be found, albeit in somewhat embryonic form, in a writing of the famed scholar of the Ancient School Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912). Finally, to highlight this important work, a complete translation of Mi pham's text will be presented. First, however, let us turn to the delicate task of defining the Treasures.

⁸ For an insightful study of this development see Davidson 2002a who suggests that the Tibetan attempt to establish a closed canon was a product of Chinese influence.

Defining Treasures

Although there are numerous systems of Treasure classification according to content, nature, manner of concealment etc., the Tibetan Treasures all share the claim that they were concealed during the golden ages of the G.yar lung dynasty (seventh to ninth centuries C.E.) by enlightened Buddhist masters who considered the needs and inclinations of future followers. During this period Buddhism entered Tibet and became the state religion through the sponsorship of the so-called 'religious kings' (*chos rgyal*) who embraced Buddhism and supported its spread.⁹ This was also a time when Tibet enjoyed considerable prosperity and political fortune on the international scene. At the height of its glory, during the reign of the king Srong btsan sgam po (re. 618-641; d. 649), the Tibetan empire had expanded greatly and traced its southern border along the Ganges river in the Indian plains. To the east large parts of China had been conquered and Tibet had emerged as one of the dominant powers of the region. It is therefore understandable that a number of Tibetan historians later would look to this period as the epitome of Tibetan greatness -- political as well as religious.¹⁰ As Tibet converted to

⁹ In general this period of Tibetan history is obscure. Traditional Tibetan accounts of this period are in large part founded on later Treasure scriptures (e.g. Nyang ral 1976; U rgyan gling pa 1996; transl. Tsogyal 1999; Douglas 1978). However, these accounts are religious epics rather than historical annals and their value as historical testimony is limited. This has prompted modern historians to challenge some of the claims made in these epics and the subsequent annals founded on this material in a number of areas such as the role of the Indian master Padmasambhava (Wangdu 2000; Germano 2002), the influence of Chinese Buddhism during this period (Dargyay 1979; Lai 1983; Kapstein 2000), and the reign of the Tibetan king Glang dar ma (Martin 2001) to name a few.

¹⁰ For example dPa' bo 1986 and Bdud 'joms 1967. For an earlier, alternative account see Wangdu 2000.

Buddhism, a considerable part of the wealth acquired from victory in warfare was reinvested into the task of propagating Buddhist thought and culture. The later legends that arose from the revealed Treasure literature focus on the Indian esoteric master Padmasambhava (eighth/ninth century C.E.) and his role in the conversion process. In these texts we are told that, having been invited to Tibet in order to pacify demonic obstacles in the construction of Bsam yas, Tibet's first monastery, Padmasambhava stayed on and assumed the leading role in transmitting the tantric tradition to Tibet.¹¹ Although later Tibetan accounts attribute Padmasambhava with a central and all-important role in the conversion of Tibet, little historical data exists to verify these claims.¹² At any rate, over time, the followers of the Ancient School reveal a vast amount of Treasure texts centering on the role of Padmasambhava whereby his status and

¹¹ The two primary Treasure hagiographies of Padmasambhava are the *Padma bka' thang* (U rgyan 1996, transl. Douglas 1978) revealed by U rgyan gling pa (1323 -?) and the *Guru'i rnam thar zangs gling ma* revealed by Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1124-1192) (Nyang ral 1976, transl. Tsogyal 1999). Tsogyal 1999 contains a bibliography of Padmasambhava hagiographies prepared by Erik Schmidt. See also Blondeau 1980. Treasure literature speaks of the concealment of large numbers of hagiographies on Padmasambhava, such as ten thousand nine hundred mentioned in the *Padma bka' thang* (Blondeau 1980: 45), or nineteen hundred, mentioned by the fifteenth Karma pa Mkha' khyab rdo rje (1871-1922) (Mkha' khyab 1981b: 330).

¹² The lack of historical data from this period makes it difficult to determine the actual impact of Padmasambhava. As Dargyay 1979: 31-59 points out there are no historical sources that verify later Tibetan accounts of the all-important role of Padmasambhava in the conversion of Tibet, particularly with regard to his role in the transmission of the Great Perfection teachings (*rdzogs chen*). However, since the discovery of a Dun Huang scripture mentioning Padmasambhava by name, his presence in Tibet is no longer doubted (Bischoff 1971; Mayer 1994). See also Germano 2002; Wangdu 2000.

importance retro-actively becomes embedded in a narrative that obtains a significant role within the devotional community of the Ancient School. In this literature Padmasambhava is described as the main author and concealer of the Treasures.¹³ It is recounted how he taught a small group of students at the court of the Tibetan king Khri srong lde'u btsan (ca. 740-798), subsequently concealed a great number of these teachings, and prophetically declared that they would be discovered in the future by reincarnations of these very students. The future Treasure revealers would then propagate Padmasambhava's teachings to audiences whose karmic needs and propensities would call for such instructions. In addition to this soteriological purpose, the nature of the Treasures, on a more mundane level, also appeal to a basic human fondness for novelty which undoubtedly contributed to their success and popularity with the followers of the Ancient School. Still, while the Treasures appeal in their recency, they ironically also possess a concomitant attraction to Tibetans by linking the present "dark age" to the celebrated past where Buddhism was introduced and the empire was at its peak.¹⁴

¹³ He is, however, not the only master attributed with concealment of Treasures. Gyatso 1993: 98 (citing Dpa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba 1986) presents the following list: Ye shes tsho rgyal, Khri srong lde btsan, Mu tig btsan po, Snubs nam mkha' snying po, Snyags jñānakumāra, Vairocana, Sna nam Bdud 'joms, and Snubs sangs rgyas ye shes. Ratna gling pa 1977: 54 presents a list that additionally includes: Vimalamitra, Sangs rgyas ye shes, rGyal ba mchog dbyangs, 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes, Glang dpal seng, and Nyang ting 'dzin bzang po. In addition, 'Jam mgon kong sprul describes the Bka' brgyud master Sgam po pa bsod nams rin chen (1079-1153) and his student Skyes bu ye shes rdo rje (twelfth century) concealing Treasures that later were revealed by Dung mtsho ras pa the elder (twelfth/thirteenth century) ('Jam mgon 1976, vol. 1: 515.6).

¹⁴ For a discussion of this point see Gyatso 1986; 1993.

As Treasure revelation in Tibet dates back approximately one thousand years it is not surprising to observe significant changes to the tradition over this period. Recently, a series of influential western studies have focused on the works of late Tibetan exegetics, such as ‘Jam mgon kong sprul (1976b), Rdo grub chen bstan pa’i nyi ma (1975), and Bdud ’joms ye shes rdo rje (1996), who view the tradition through the syncretic lenses of posterity where historical developments on occasion are left out in consideration of clarity and eclecticism.¹⁵ Due to the prominent position in contemporary Tibetan religious circles occupied by these late exemplars of Treasure ideology they have at times become portrayed as normative for the Treasure tradition at large or, when discrepancies are found, as authoritative.¹⁶ Although the validity of this methodological choice can be argued in reference to the influence of these works on contemporary Tibetan religion there are a number of historical details to be discovered only outside of these later sources.¹⁷

The transmission of the Treasures is traditionally described in terms of six events, or stages, whereby the teaching moves from its original formulator in a *dharmakāya* realm to the devotee in the present. Among these six stages, the three primary events are the well-known transmissions of tantric material according to the teachings of the Ancient School, namely, 1) “the realization lineage of the conqueror” (*rgyal ba’i dgongs*

¹⁵ Studies drawing on these sources are Dargyay 1979; Gyatso 1986; 1993; Thondup 1986.

¹⁶ E.g. Gyatso 1992: 97; 1996: 148.

¹⁷ The decisions to include and omit material in the recent works do of course also reflect the particular positions and religious affiliations of their authors. Thus, to name just one example, we find the well-

brgyud), 2) “the symbolic lineage of the *vidyādhara*s” (*rig 'dzin brda brgyud*), and 3) “the hearing lineage of ordinary people” (*gang zag snyan khung du brgyud*).¹⁸ The remaining three transmissions, specific to Treasure revelation, are 1) “empowerment by aspiration” (*smon lam dbang bskur*), 2) “prediction of the transmission” (*bka' babs lung bstan*),¹⁹ and 3) entrustment to the *dākinīs* (*mkha' 'gro gtad rgya*).²⁰ According to Klong chen pa (1992b: 16.5-121.2), these three events unfold within the symbolic lineage of the *vidyādhara*s.²¹ During these stages Padmasambhava first teaches a suitable student and ensures that his or her understanding is authentic and genuine. After the student has properly received the teaching, Padmasambhava utters a prophecy concerning the future circumstances for the revelation and finally conceals the teaching and entrusts the *dākinīs* to guard it until the time has come for revelation. From a tantric perspective there is nothing particularly unusual *per se* in this transmission of the Treasures and, in comparison to other origin claims for the tantric literary corpus, they might even come

known Treasure revealer Nyi ma Grags pa (1647-1710) excluded from Kong sprul's list of Treasure revealers, a fact that later led to much controversy (see Blondeau 1988; Martin 2001: 138-140).

¹⁸ On these three lineages see Gyatso 1993: 113-115. Note, however, my reservations on her subsequent placement of the following three Treasure specific transmissions (see below).

¹⁹ In Klong chen pa's writings this transmission is termed “the lineage of compassionate blessing” (*thugs rje byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa*). See e.g. Klong chen pa, undated: 447.

²⁰ On these see Thondup 1986: 63-66, 104-109.

²¹ Bdud 'joms 1996 and Rdo grub chen 1975 do not specify at what point these latter events unfold in relation to the three general transmissions. Note that Gyatso on several occasions (1986: 15-16; 1993: 114-115) places these three events within the hearing lineage of ordinary people although her sources for this placement are not mentioned. See also Thondup 1986: 105-109 for alternative discussions of the transmissions of the Treasures.

across as rather ordinary and uneventful.²² The purpose for recounting the transmission of the Treasures in such detail is primarily to engender confidence in the practitioners of the Ancient School that their religious literature is authentically rooted but curiously this does not entail a firm positioning of the Treasures within a historical framework. Rather the Treasures refer their entire lineage back to the essentially a-historical settings of a *dharmakāya* buddha and the ensuing symbolic transmissions in India and Tibet. As we shall see, it is in large part these a-historical accounts of the Treasures' origin and transmission that enable the Ancient School to claim that Treasure revelation is a central and fundamental Buddhist activity.

Throughout the millennium or so that the Treasure tradition flourished in Tibet various idiosyncratic systems of Treasure taxonomy developed. The many classificatory systems of the Treasures are still awaiting a detailed study and here we shall merely look at a few influential classifications, selected for their philosophical variety as well as their historical representation of several centuries of Treasure revelation. In doing so, rather than establishing definitive categorizations, we shall merely attempt to highlight the multifarious and highly complex nature of the Treasures so as to provide a more well-informed basis for evaluating the related disputatious literature. The classifications we shall look at here are developed in the writings of the masters Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, Guru chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270), U rgyan gling pa, Klong chen pa 'dri med 'od zer (1308-1363), Ratna gling pa dpal bzang po (1403-78), and, finally, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas. As the systematization presented by Kong sprul is the most influential now-a-days, we shall begin with a brief look at his classifications and then

²² See Newman 1985: 52 for historical claims made in the *Kālacakra* literature.

proceed to a chronological treatment of the remaining formulators. This in turn will highlight the historical differences found in early and later Treasure literature. Furthermore, since the classifications of Kong sprul form the structure for the classical presentations of the Treasure revealer Mchog gyur gling pa's revelations we shall adopt this schema as our starting point as it remains of particular relevance to our present study.

According to 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's hagiographical survey of the Treasure tradition, *The Precious Lapis Lazuli Rosary that Briefly Presents the Emergence of the Profound Treasures and the Accomplished Treasure Revealers*,²³ there are two main types of Treasure: 1) Earth Treasure (*sa gter*) and 2) Mind Treasure (*dgongs gter*). This division actually dates back well beyond the thinkers of the ecumenical (*ris med*) tradition that Kong sprul represented but precisely how far back is uncertain. In any case, based on this basic two-fold division of the Treasures, *The Rosary* presents a four-fold sub-classification of the Treasures developed around the revelatory activity of Kong sprul's colleagues 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892) and Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa. According to this system, the earth Treasures are further divided into "actual earth Treasures" (*sa gter ngos*) and "rediscovered Treasures" (*yang gter*) while mind Treasures consist of "actual mind Treasures" (*dgongs gter ngos*) and "recollected Treasures" (*rjes dran gter*). The basic division of earth and mind Treasures forms the primary structure for *The Rosary* while the remaining sub-categories are encountered throughout Kong sprul's work as he discusses the revelations of individual figures, in particular those of Mkhyen brtse and Mchog gling. Following Kong sprul, this system

²³ *Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen vaidūrya'i phreng ba*. 'Jam mgon 1976b (Abbr. *The Rosary*).

was later adopted by subsequent scholars in their treatment of the Treasure literature (e.g. Dkon mchog 1982: 179-260; Dudjom 1991: 845-846). Earth Treasures are revealed in dependence on a physical locality and constitute the only kind of Treasure that is not exclusively transmitted in and revealed from the mental realm. As the name indicates, this kind of Treasure is hidden in the ground, a rock or another physical location. It may be actual texts but can also consist of religious objects such as *vajras*, *kālas*, or buddha statues, sub-classified as “material Treasures” (*rdzas gter*), as well as jewels and precious metals, designated “wealth Treasures” (*nor gter*).²⁴ Rediscovered Treasures are teachings that previously were revealed but, as the conditions for successful revelation were not met, have been re-concealed for discovery at a later time. Mind Treasures are revealed purely from the mind of the Treasure revealer where Padmasambhava is claimed to have originally concealed them. Recollected Treasures are remembrances from a former life. The Treasure revealer will recollect his past existence as a spiritual teacher and propagate his earlier teachings once again. The purpose of this form of revelation is to revive past

²⁴ For an example of Kong sprul’s use of the categories mentioned here see his hagiography of Mchog gyur gling pa (‘Jam mgon 1976b: 643-658). Note that the categories of material Treasure and wealth Treasure are early developments that persist throughout the tradition. It should also be noted that scriptural Earth Treasures only rarely consist of actual longer texts. Instead they are small scriptural fragments, so-called “yellow scrolls” (*shog gser*), containing symbols that provoke a memory of Padmasambhava’s teaching which is then put into writing. This is especially true for later revelations where claims to discovery of actual ancient original manuscripts, besides the yellow scrolls, are practically non-existent. Note the commentary of Tulku Urgyen, a recent master within the Treasure tradition: “In fact, each of the sign script characters expand in size to be as large as a whole valley and all the writings appear within that and can then be copied down. One simply copies it down as it is seen but if one makes a mistake, either omitting or duplicating a word, then the script remains in mid-air until one corrects the mistake.” (Urgyen 1995: 39).

teachings that have been lost or whose spiritual lineage has been interrupted. This particular form of Treasure is predominantly associated with the revelations of Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po who, as Kong sprul mentions time and again throughout *The Rosary*, revived the spiritual transmission of many Treasure lineages in this way.

Although our picture of the historical developments of Treasure codification still remains murky it is evident that the above classification, which is structured on the mode of revelation, was unknown during the early centuries of Treasure revelation when the Treasures instead were classified based on their religious content. Thus, in a twelfth century Treasure hagiography of Padmasambhava, revealed by Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, we find the Treasures divided into “dharma Treasures” (*chos gter*) and “wealth Treasures” (*nor gter*).²⁵ This text is, to my knowledge, the first Treasure to use the term *thugs gter* - a name, which later becomes part of the standard vocabulary of the Ancient School.²⁶ Even though this term appears similar to the *dgongs gter* discussed by Kong sprul (both could be translated “mind Treasure”) the meaning of *thugs gter* is quite different. While *dgongs gter* refers to a Treasure concealed in and revealed from the Treasure revealers mind, *thugs gter* simply refers to a precious teaching originally formulated in the mind (*thugs*) of a buddha or realized master. Alternatively, another less common meaning of *thugs gter* is a material Treasure that represents the mind of the buddhas (such as a *vajra* or a *stūpa*). Both of these two meanings of *thugs gter* are repeatedly confirmed in Guru chos dbang's *Great Treasure Chronicle* (*Gter 'byung chen*

²⁵ Nyang ral 1976: 138. As we have just witnessed above in Kong sprul's work, the latter category became an enduring classification. The former has many early occurrences even in Indic *sūtra* literature.

²⁶ The occurrences of *thugs gter* are found in Nyang ral 1976: 135.3; 136.5; 148.2.

mo), which, being composed in the thirteenth century, is the earliest known detailed treatise on the Treasure tradition.²⁷ In understanding *thugs gter* contextual awareness is therefore required and in any case its semantic equivalence to *dgongs gter* must be doubted. Chos dbang makes use of four main categories to define the Treasures; the first being “ordinary material Treasures” (*thun mong rdzas kyi gter*). This grouping contains the sub-divisions of “supreme material Treasures” (*mchog gi rdzas gter*) covering Buddhist ritual substances such as skull cups and the flesh of humans who have had seven consecutive Brahmin births,²⁸ “special material Treasures” (*khyad par gyi rdzas gter*), referring to jewels, and lastly, “ordinary material Treasures” (*thun mong gi rdzas gter*), such as valleys, water, cement, and magic tricks.²⁹ Then follows “especially purposeful Treasures” (*khyad par yon tan gter*) again subdivided into the categories of “Treasures of truthful speech of emanated *bon*” (*bon 'phrul ngag bden pa'i gter*), “astrological Treasures” (*rtsis kyi gter*), “medicinal Treasures” (*sman gyi gter*), “handicraft Treasures” (*gzo 'i gter*), and “magic Treasures” (*'phrul gyi gter*) (82.6-87.5).³⁰ Third is the category of “supreme Treasures of body, speech and mind” (*mchog gyur sku gsung thugs kyi gter*). “Body” refers to the physical appearance (revelation) of a buddha

²⁷ Guru chos dbang 1979. See especially 89.2-5; 98.2-99.1. See also Gyatso 1994.

²⁸ This flesh is considered precious because of its ability to confer buddhahood upon consumption (Ratna gling pa 1977: 68.3).

²⁹ Guru chos dbang 1979: 81.5-82.6. See also Gyatso 1994 where many of these types of Treasure are discussed. Since Gyatso mostly omits the sub-categories to which they belong Chos dbang’s classifications can appear more diffuse and obscure than necessary. I therefore list the various Treasure classifications here providing their respective sub-genres.

³⁰ Gyatso has discussed Chos dbang’s categorization of *bon gter* (1994: 280-283).

as he manifests in the world, self-manifested representations of enlightened form, as well as representations made by humans. “Speech” refers essentially to the entire Buddhist teaching while “mind” includes physical representations of buddha mind such as *stūpas* and *vajras* (87.5-96.6). The last main category is the “definitive Treasure of suchness” (*de kho na nyid nges pa'i gter*) which represents the realization of all the buddhas. This realization is said to be self-secret and is considered a Treasure because it is concealed from the general perception of sentient beings (96.5-97.4). Fundamentally, in his presentation of these categories, Chos dbang argues that Treasures are not only religious texts and artifacts hidden in dynastic period Tibet by Padmasambhava and his students but should be understood in broader terms - as the complete Buddhist textual corpus and, on an even larger scale, indeed the entire world. In support of his definitions Chos dbang quotes the *Rnam rol mdo*, which states that, just as the four elements appear from the Treasure of space, so all Buddhist teachings appear from the Treasure of the Buddha’s mind (Guru chos dbang 1979: 82). This last observation demonstrates an important affirmation of the fundamental tantric notion of “pure perception” (*dag snang*) and constitutes a clear positioning of the phenomenon of Treasure revelation within the general tantric Vajrayāna tradition. As a definition of the kind of Treasures that Chos dbang and his Tibetan Treasure tradition commonly would come to reveal it is of course very broad. Perhaps its most significant purpose is therefore not so much to provide a precise phenomenological study of Tibetan Treasure revelation but rather to form a philosophical connection between the Treasures and the nondescript *dharmakāya* reality from which, according to Mahāyāna Buddhists, purposeful activity ceaselessly manifests in any conceivable form. This is, however, no insignificant observation and one which

Tibetan Treasure analysts over the centuries found important to repeatedly return to as the classifications of Chos dbang were adopted by some of the most influential commentators of the Ancient School.³¹

Regarding *dgongs gter*, the earliest occurrences appear to stem from the fourteenth century works of Klong chen pa (1308-1363), in particular in his *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* (*Mkha 'gro yang thig*) (Klong chen pa 1992a) as well as U rgyan gling pa's *Chronicle of Padmasambhava* (*Padma bka' thang*) (U rgyan gling pa 1996). In the *Chronicle of Padmasambhava* the term, however, occurs only twice and even so among a plethora of other general Treasure categories (555-556). In this text there are four main Treasure categories: "ancestral Treasures" (*mes gter*), "filial Treasures" (*sras gter*), "magistral Treasures" (*dpon gter*), and "essential Treasures" (*yang gter*), each containing eighteen different kinds of Treasure (each one again subdivided eighteen times!) (548). Unfortunately, these terms are not further defined in the *Chronicle of Padmasambhava* and their meaning is elusive. Noteworthy is the term *yang gter* that I here translate as "essential Treasure." It is the same term that is used by Kong sprul, where it is best rendered "rediscovered Treasure," but in the early sources the meaning of "rediscovered" appears absent and the term seems to refer to an "essential" or "particular" Treasure.³² *Dgongs gter*, however, is certainly not a prominent category. In

³¹ In particular, Ratna gling pa and 'Jam mgon Kong sprul. Ratna gling pa 1977 mirrors many of the same broad categories found in Chos dbang's treatise (see below) while Kong sprul twice echoes Guru chos dbang's claim that the entire *buddhadharma* is to be understood as Treasure (1976b: 300.1; 684.2).

³² Cf. Klong chen pa's use of the term in reference to the entire collection of religious Treasures concealed in Tibet by Padmasambhava (Klong chen pa 1992b: 117.5). I believe the significance of the Tibetan term

the writings of Klong chen pa, on the other hand, the term is much more common although its use, in referring to the *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* that Klong chen pa clearly presents as stemming from his own pen, indicates a different understanding from what is expressed by later scholars, such as Kong sprul and Rdo grub chen, for whom a *dgongs gter* is utterly isolated from any potential interpolation by the Treasure revealer. To Klong chen pa, however, a *dgongs gter* is influenced by the revealer to a much greater degree than what is acknowledged in these later discussions.³³ A possible explanation for Klong chen pa's attribution of his own works to the category of Treasure is found in the writings of Bdud 'joms who explains that the *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* was dictated directly to Klong chen pa by Padmasambhava, Ye shes mtsho rgyal and the protector G.yu sgron ma (Dudjom 1991: 585-586), which implicates Padmasambhava as the actual source of Klong chen pa's writings (although, arguably, one would expect this to situate the *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* within the lineage of pure vision (*dag snang*) rather than the lineage of the Treasures). Another, and perhaps more plausible, explanation for Klong chen pa's use of *dgongs gter* would be that during the fourteenth century the semantic meaning of this term was identical, or closely related to, the similar term *thugs gter* (i.e. a precious teaching) and that only later did a real distinction develop between these two. In that case, the attribution of the *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* as simply a precious teaching would make perfect sense. Still, as long as this period of Treasure history has not been thoroughly researched

yang (here translated 'essential') is meant to distinguish the specific religious Treasures from other more mundane Treasures. Still, this topic deserves a more thorough investigation.

³³ Thanks to David Germano for pointing this out to me.

we must of course be careful not to rush to conclusions. We can note, however, that Kong sprul also displays some ambiguity towards the classification of Klong chen pa's Treasures by listing him both as a revealer of earth Treasures ('Jam mgon 1976b: 423.3-428.4) as well as mind Treasures (690.4-6). The classification as revealer of earth Treasures is based on Klong chen pa reportedly receiving the *Heart Quintessence of the Dākinī* (*Mkha 'gro snying thig*) "in actuality" from the *dākinī* Shan pa srog sgrub ma (426.5) even though these texts had already been previously revealed by a certain Rin chen tshul khriims rdo rje (thirteenth century). Klong chen pa's mind Treasure revelation is the *Innermost Quintessence of the Dākinī* just described. Interestingly, although Kong sprul states that Klong chen pa's mind Treasures were "established in the form of treatises"³⁴ (indicating that their Treasure identity might not be readily apparent to the ordinary person) he simultaneously hails Klong chen pa as the king of all revealers of mind Treasure.³⁵ Still, such seeming paradoxes apparently never posed any significant trouble for the followers of the Ancient School who appear to have been comfortably settled in their belief that the manifestations of enlightened wisdom ultimately defy mundane conceptual structures whereby schemas and classifications become imbued with an elasticity that allows for the harmonious union of otherwise seemingly contrasting classificatory notions. Finally, we should note that Klong chen pa appears to be the first Treasure commentator to identify the Treasures with the classical five-fold division of body (*sku*), speech (*gsung*), mind (*thugs*), qualities (*yon tan*), and activity (*phrin las*) thus

³⁴ "Dgongs gter bstan bcos kyi tshul du... gtan la phab" ('Jam mgon 1976b: 426.6).

³⁵ Identifying Klong chen pa's position in the Treasure hierarchy is further complicated by his absence from a list, composed by Ratna gling pa in the fifteenth century, naming the twenty four most influential Treasure revealers up to Ratna gling pa's time (Ratna gling pa 1977: 55.2-58.4).

further contributing to the taxonomic richness of Treasure hermeneutics (Klong chen pa 1992b: 117.5-119.2).

In the century following Klong chen pa we find an influential Treasure study, lauded by ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul as one of the most significant authorities on the defense of the Treasures. The text in question is the *Great Treasure Chronicle - The Illuminating Lamp* (*Gter ‘byung chen mo gsal ba’i sgron me*, abbr. *The Lamp*) by Ratna gling pa dpal bzang po (1403-1479).³⁶ Like Guru chos dbang before him, Ratna gling pa claims to have a two-fold purpose for composing his treatise; one being a wish to elucidate the philosophy of Treasure interpretation as construed by the Ancient School and the other to counter the continuing criticism raised against the Treasures by outside skeptics. Having explained at length on the nature of the Treasures Ratna gling pa remarks:

“Although all these instructions [that I have given here]... individually have elucidated general, specific, and particular categories [of the Treasures], in reality, the Transmitted Precepts (*bka’ ma*) and the Treasures are described as an indivisible unity. [Nevertheless], I have presented them here so that those who possess the eye of wisdom and have valid, honest minds may feel confidence and become uplifted. For those who are linked [to the Treasures] through past aspirations and positive karmic residue and today feel interest in the Treasures, follow them, practice them genuinely, and are able to gain accomplishment, [this treatise has been taught] to increase their experience of joy and inspiration,

³⁶ Ratna gling pa 1977. Kong sprul’s reference is found in ‘Jam mgon 1976b: 302.3.

to give rise to limitless devotion and conviction through certainty and to engender [qualities] such as renunciation and diligence. Even so, I have also explained extensively in order to defeat those sectarian intellectuals who lack vast learning, understanding, and reasoning; who are destitute with respect to renunciation, pure perception, and wisdom; who lack real understanding though knowing the names of a few categories; who pretend to be learned while deluded by ignorance; and who do not benefit themselves by training and meditation nor help others through teaching and exposition.”³⁷

Later, we shall return to the gentlemen for whom this latter part was intended. First, however, let us consider the divisional elements in Ratna gling pa’s Treasure taxonomy. *The Lamp* is divided into five main chapters that explain 1) that all the teachings of the Buddha are Treasures (3.1-42.6); 2) how the classical Buddhist teachings of India were all revealed as Treasure (42.6-53.2); 3) the way the Treasures were revealed

³⁷ “*De liar... rnam grangs phyi nang bye brag so sor phye ste bstan pa ‘di rnam kyang/ don bka’ gter zung ‘jug dbyer med du bstan pa dang/ shes rab kyi spyen dan ldan pa dang/ blo tshad ma gzu bor gnas pa rnam yid ches shing dang b ‘dren pa dang / sngon nas smon lam dang las ‘phro dkar ba’i ‘brel pas deng sang gter la mos shing rjes su ‘jug pa tshul bzhi nyams su len cing bsgrub par nus pa rnam dga’ spro’i nyams ‘phel zhing/ tshad med kyi mos gus skye ba dang/ nges shes kyi thag chod dang nges ‘byung brtson ‘grus la sogs skye ba’i phyir bkod pa yin cing/ yang rtog ge ba phyogs ‘dzin can/ thos rgya dang go ba rik pa gsum gyis dbul ba/ nges ‘byung dang/ dag snang shes rab gsum gyis bkren pa/ tha snyad kyi tshid ‘ga’ re shes kyang/ don gyi go ba rdug pa/ ma rig rmongs bzhi du mkhas par rlom pa/ bsblabs shing bsgom pas rang la ma phan pa/ bshad cing bstan pas gzhan la ma phan pa rnam tshar bcad pa’i phyir rgyas par bstan pa yin” (Ratna gling pa 1977: 73.6-74.6).*

in Tibet (53.2-75.1); 4) the way Ratna gling pa's individual Treasures were revealed (75.1-203.3); and, finally, 5) apologetic arguments in favor of Treasure revelation (203.3-238.5). The primary discussion of Treasure definitions is found in chapters one to three. Even though the inspiration of Guru chos dbang's *Great Treasure Chronicle* is felt throughout these first chapters there are notable differences in the topical structure and areas of focus of Chos dbang and Ratna gling pa. A significant distinction is that, while Chos dbang devotes the majority of his treatise to the task of defining the Treasures, Ratna gling pa focuses primarily on the process of concealment and revelation leaving the explanation of Treasure identity as a secondary theme that only occasionally surfaces throughout his larger transmission account. As Ratna gling pa covers the nature of the Treasures he adheres predominantly to the categories defined by Chos dbang centuries earlier, such as those of body, speech and mind (statues, teachings, and stūpas), as well as Treasures of astrology, medicine and handicraft (notably, no mention of *bon*). However, Ratna gling pa also provides his own individual touch as he renames Chos dbang's four primary Treasure divisions with terminology of his own. Thus, according to Ratna gling pa, we find a Treasure category termed "outer variegated Treasures" (*phyi sna tshogs pa'i gter*) referring to the elements, valleys, wealth etc. Next are the "inner Treasures bestowing eminence" (*nang mchog stsol ba'i gter*) comprising the specifically Buddhist Treasures of body, speech and mind. Third are the "secret, naturally appearing, naturally concealed, and naturally realized Treasures" (*gsang ba rang byung rang gab rang rtogs pa'i gter*). This category is not further defined by Ratna gling pa but we may reasonably assume that it refers to the realization of the buddhas classified by Chos dbang as "the definitive Treasure of suchness." Last in the group of four we find the category of

“indefinite variegated Treasures” (*ma nges sna tshogs pa'i gter*), which refers to the arts of medicine, astrology, magic, and handicrafts (40.5-41.1).³⁸ What is interesting to observe here is that Ratna gling pa provides us with yet another demonstration of the innovative spirit that continuously shaped and developed the Ancient School during the first centuries of revelatory activity where, even as commentators increasingly saw themselves as belonging to a textually institutionalized tradition (and so must have felt inclined to adopt already established taxonomies) the creative urge of these writers gained the upper hand to the effect that the typology of the Treasures was reinvented with almost every new commentarial scripture. With such a strong impetus on philosophical renewal it can in some ways surprise that the Ancient School was able to maintain a unified stance in propagating the Treasures together with their growing number of revealers all claiming to have discovered the profoundest Treasure of all. While there certainly were voices within the Ancient School that observed a skeptical attitude towards the rapidly growing number of revelations it is remarkable that they were not more plentiful and that the tradition was able to welcome and accommodate this plethora of

³⁸ This system mirrors Chos dbang's four categories although the sequence differs. Chos dbang's categories correspond to Ratna gling pa's system in the following order: 1) ordinary material Treasures; 2) supreme Treasures of body, speech and mind; 3) definitive Treasures of suchness; and 4) especially purposeful Treasures. Ratna gling pa also mentions the “particular Treasures” (*bye brag gi gter*) but it is not clear if this is a separate category or one included within the indefinite variegated Treasures (40.5). However as the term usually refers to such Treasures as those included within the indefinite variegated Treasures I have not listed it separately here.

teachings and masters within their ranks to the extent that it did.³⁹ Even though the approach to Treasure identification and classification developed over time the basic philosophical position on Treasure revelation has remained surprisingly homogenous consistently placing the *sine qua non* of Treasure discovery within the inexhaustible potentiality of the *dharmakāya* realm. It is indeed worth noticing that the skeptical voices heard within the Ancient School itself were never critical of the *principle* of continued revelation but merely warned against the potential danger of admitting frauds into the ranks of genuine revelatory masters. Ironically, then, it is precisely within the multiplicity and variety of the tradition, that we encounter its unifying force as a dominant eclecticism capable of incorporating a host of idiosyncratic Treasure systems into a homogenous and well-functioning unity. This integrality in turn received its cohesive strength from a continual referral to the Treasures' genesis in the a-historical realm personified in the *dharmakāya* buddha Samantabhadra and his equals. At least since the time of Guru chos dbang there has been a clear understanding within the Ancient School that the Treasures, in essence, embody the entirety of the Buddha's teachings and even existence itself. Thus, in the most fundamental equation, anything and everything is part of the unifying *dharmakāya* realm from which all Treasures emerge. Even though this position repeatedly has been argued by Treasure thinkers it has often been ignored or downplayed in studies of the Treasures. For example, in a recent study of Guru chos dbang's *ger 'byung chen mo*, his inclusive outlook on Treasure definition is portrayed predominantly as a unique and eccentric view developed as an apologetical tool for defending his

³⁹ Two notable critics of the many new revelations were Rtse le sna tshogs rang grol (Rtse le 1979), and Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912) (Mi pham 1984).

revelations against the critique of outsiders.⁴⁰ While there is no question that Chos dbang's *Great Treasure Chronicle* in part was meant to rebuke the skeptics of his day,⁴¹ the inclusive interpretations of the Treasure phenomenon that he develops in this text came to influence later commentators significantly as they adopted the main elements of Chos dbang's philosophical position into the predominant hermeneutical position of the Ancient School.⁴² Guru chos dbang's inclusive attitude represents therefore not an odd piece of Treasure apology but a significant source for understanding the formation of the philosophical position of the Ancient School in matters of the Treasures. Thus, by focusing predominantly on perceived apologetical "agendas" and "strategies" in the *Great Treasure Chronicle* one might lose track of the importance and value of this text as a most important philosophical treatise that influenced the Ancient School for the better half of a millennium.⁴³

For our present purposes, this much should suffice to demonstrate the complexity of Treasure identification as well as the remarkable openness of the Ancient School to the constant typological re-interpretations of its scriptural traditions. Although at present our knowledge of the Treasure tradition is too limited to draw definitive historical conclusions, it has been noticed here that the first several centuries of Treasure revelation

⁴⁰ Gyatso 1994. See esp. pp. 279-280.

⁴¹ Guru chos dbang himself makes that clear in the colophon (Guru chos dbang 1979: 187.3).

⁴² Cf. Ratna gling pa 1977: 39.6-42.6; Kong sprul 1976b: 300.1

⁴³ Cf. also Gyatso 1993: 102 where it is suggested that a primary motivation for Treasure revelation in Tibet was a wish for fame and fortune rather than genuine religious concerns. While worldly ambition certainly played a role in the career of some Treasure revealers (see Mi pham's discussion below) the generalizing opinion that Gyatso presents is, in my judgment, oversimplifying a very complex situation.

witnessed the emergence of several distinct classifications and that, among these, the term *dgongs gter* only gradually gained prominence during the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ It has also become clear that, as a way to accommodate these many variegated systems within its ranks, the Ancient School adopted a broad interpretation of the Treasures first formulated by Guru chos dbang, which, running parallel to the multiplicity of textual and taxonomic idiosyncrasies, conceives of all the buddhas' teachings, and even existence itself, as Treasure. Finally, it has been argued that it was this parallel approach to Treasure hermeneutics that allowed for the continuation of the tradition as a homogenous entity in spite of the many historical idiosyncrasies that continuously changed the outward appearance of the Treasure tradition.

Moving away from the Treasures to the masters responsible for their revelation, the Treasure revealers, we are likewise confronted with a multiplicity of classifications. Commentaries often speak of more than one thousand Tibetan Treasure revealers but focus on a much smaller number of important figures.⁴⁵ The most comprehensive list of

⁴⁴ Note also the lack of mention of the earth Treasure/mind Treasure distinction by Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (1986) in the seventeenth century, which further indicates that the *dgongs gter* category only gradually gained importance, even subsequent to Klong chen pa's works. A future study might investigate whether the significance of the *dgongs gter* category in fact only gained its present importance as the popularity of 'Jigs med gling pa's mind Treasures in the eighteenth century would have warranted a rethinking of Treasure codification showing greater sensitivity to the mode of concealment and revelation rather than the nature of the Treasure itself.

⁴⁵ Compare this number of Treasure revealers to the amount of Treasures mentioned by Guru chos dbang: ten million "minor" Treasures (*phran gter*), 1100 divine Treasures of the king (*rgyal po lha'i gter*), 125 profound Treasures (*zab gter*), five Treasures of Padmasambhava's mind (*padma'i thugs gter*), and, finally,

such masters is found in Kong sprul's hagiographical treatise of the Treasure revealers (1976b).⁴⁶ From the early days of the Treasure tradition, in order to be considered a major Treasure revealer an individual was required to discover sufficient material to constitute an entire path to enlightenment, which in this case meant teachings related to Padmasambhava, the Great Perfection, and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (summarized as *bla rdzogs thugs gsum*).⁴⁷ Within the large group of major Treasure revealers there are numerous further sub-divisions such as the recent "Five Royal Treasure revealers" (*gter ston rgyal po lnga*),⁴⁸ the "Three Supreme *Nirmāṇakāyas*" (*mchog gi sprul sku gsum*),⁴⁹ the "Eleven Gling pas" (*gling pa bcu gcig*)⁵⁰, and the most general and common grouping of the "One Hundred and Eight Great Treasure Revealers" (*gter chen brgya rtsa*).⁵¹ Before the actual revelation can take place, the Treasure revealer will often receive

one single mind Treasure that embodies the essence of all other rediscovered Treasures of Padmasambhava's mind (*o rgyan thugs kyi yang gter kun gyi bcud 'dus pa thugs kyi gter*). This last Treasure is, as could be expected, a Treasure revealed by Chos dbang himself (Guru chos dbang 1979: 98.5-7). The practice of laying claim to the profoundest truth is of course prevalent in almost any religious school, order, and system and the Treasure tradition is certainly no exception.

⁴⁶ This list has been reproduced by Dargyay (1979) and Thondup (1986)

⁴⁷ Dargyay 1979: 69-70. See also Guru chos dbang 1979: 116.5.

⁴⁸ Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, Guru chos kyi dbang phyug, Rdo rje gling pa (1346-1405), Padma gling pa, and Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892) (Dudjom 1991).

⁴⁹ Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, Guru chos kyi dbang phyug, and Rig 'dzin rgod lden (1337-1408) (Dudjom 1991).

⁵⁰ Mkha' khyab 1981b: 343. I have not seen these eleven masters identified by name. In Kong sprul 1976b the number of Treasure revealers named Gling pa goes far beyond eleven.

⁵¹ E.g. Mkha' khyab 1981b: 343.

various signs and premonitions foretelling the discovery of the Treasure and, in the case of an Earth Treasure, guiding him (rarely her!) to the location of the Treasure site. This period in the discovery process can at times pose a challenge to the discoverer-to-be who must first find certainty in his new role as the chosen recipient of Padmasambhava's spiritual heritage.⁵² Finally, once the revealer has gained the necessary confidence in his or her revelatory ability, the propitious moment arrives when, in a confluence of fortunate circumstances, the Treasure is revealed, transcribed, and introduced to the community of devotees.⁵³

This concludes our brief introduction to the Treasures where we have followed the journey of the Treasures from original wakefulness in the primordial field of an original buddha, through the enlightened manipulation of Padmasambhava and the inspired gift of the revealer, into its final form as scripture for the followers of the Ancient School. Still, in spite of the enthusiastic reception of the Treasures by the followers of the Ancient School they were often met in other quarters with a skeptical reaction that discarded their legitimacy and denounced their propagators as frauds,

⁵² Discussed in great detail in Gyatso 1998: 161-181. Note however, that Gyatso's study makes use of a highly interpretive analysis that, in her own words, "cannot fail to alter, to some extent, the object under scrutiny."

⁵³ According to the Ancient School, the meeting of fortunate circumstances (*rten 'brel bsgrigs pa*) is of the greatest importance for a successful Treasure discovery. This, in turn, is established based on the interpretation of signs in the outer elements and mental visions (Thondup 1986: 71-97). The process of interpreting the revelation, which often is revealed in symbolic writing, is likewise an intricate process that often requires a period of private appropriation of the Treasure before its semiotic meaning can be unlocked (Thondup 1986: 126-141).

tricksters, or worse. In the following, we shall look at these opposing positions of the devotee and the skeptic and offer some remarks on the question of Treasure validity.

Authenticity in the Tibetan Treasures

It did not take long from the first Treasure revelations in the tenth and eleventh centuries before skeptics from rivaling Buddhist schools began questioning their authenticity. The appearance of the Treasures coincided with the second wave of Indian Buddhist import to Tibet from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. During this period, as the texts and practices of the new (*gsar ma*) and older (Rnying ma) schools became measured against each other, tensions often ran high as the life-giving favors of the political and financial establishment were perceived to be intricately linked to publicly proving the supremacy of one's own religious tradition at the expense of others. The new schools sought primarily to establish themselves by emphasizing their Indian origin -- an origin the Ancient School had difficulty proving for its scriptures, in part due to the large time span since its early textual import from India in the eighth and ninth centuries. As a verifiable Indian origin became the central measure for authenticating Buddhist scripture in Tibet the texts and practices of the Ancient School were quickly disclaimed as Tibetan forgeries and interpolations. Even so, this historically based method of validation that these newer traditions propagated was never consistently applied to the scriptures of their own accepted textual corpus. Thus, even a figure such as Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), who in general was eager to be perceived as a champion of genuine Indian Buddhism in the snowy land was occasionally willing to neglect these Indian sources if they appeared to conflict with his own textual heritage (Davidson 2002a: 209). Furthermore, even some

of the practices that Sa paṇ and his polemicist colleagues of the new schools singled out as inauthentic Tibetan inventions, we now know to have had genuine Indian backgrounds (*ibid.*).

The lack of mention of the Treasures in outside sources until the thirteenth century tells us that in terms of adherents and political influence the Treasure tradition must have been a relatively minor movement at least until the time of Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer in the second half of the twelfth century. During the first half of the thirteenth century, however, with the first appearance of polemical works denouncing Treasure revelation we can assume that the tradition gradually gained momentum through the revelations of the two prominent Treasure revealers Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer and Guru chos dbang. The earliest known critique of Treasure revelation is composed by Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal (1197-1265), who advanced his criticism as part of a general complaint against practices and scriptures circulating in Tibet that he perceived to be spurious (Chag lo tsā ba 1979: 2-18.2. See also Martin 2001: 111-116). He is especially harsh towards Guru chos dbang concerning whom he remarks:⁵⁴

“When Bsam-yas was built, Guru Padmasambhava came from India and put an end to wrong teachings. After he established some karmic connections (*rten-brel*) with his followers, he returned to India. After this, the ‘king’ [spirit] Pe-kar possessed the body of a Newar named Ka-ka-ru 'dzin, who put a meditation hat on his head, stuck some bird feathers in it,

⁵⁴ The following quote is translated in Martin 2001: 114. Note Martin’s translation of *gter yig* as “excavated text” and *gter* as “mine.” In this study I translate these terms as “Treasure text” and “Treasure.”

dressed in fur, made the announcement at Bsam-yas, “I am Padma,” and taught innumerable wrong teachings. After this innumerable wrong teachings spread, and there was one called Guru chos-dbang, blessed when his heart was possessed by a ‘king’ [spirit], who said, ‘Here is an excavated text (*gter yig*).’⁵⁵ Nāgās, māras, and *rgyal-rgong* spirits were drawn to the wrong teachings he had composed, bringing with them leprosy, fainting fits and so on, these serving as his ‘signs of attainment.’ These and other scriptures that came from mines (*gter*)⁵⁶ are not valid.”

There were other thinkers of this period, such as ‘Jig rten mgon po (1143-1217), Sa skya paṇḍita, and possibly even Bu ston (1290-1364),⁵⁷ who, like Chag lo tsā ba, saw it fit to issue warnings against the Treasures. The main concern of these polemics seems to have been a concern that the Treasures were false Tibetan compositions devoid of spiritual continuity with Buddhist India. Characteristically for this concern Sa skya paṇḍita, in his *Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes* (*Sdom gsum rab dbye*), offers the following remarks:

“To trace back to Vajradhara

volumes originating from treasure-caches,

teachings pilfered from other systems,

⁵⁵ i.e. a Treasure text.

⁵⁶ i.e. Treasures.

⁵⁷ See Kapstein 2000: 253 no. 35.

teachings that have been composed [as apocrypha],
 those that somebody dreamed,
 or those that have been obtained through memorization,
 and to receive scriptural transmissions
 for these from other [traditions]
 will contradict one's own word,
 let alone the doctrine."⁵⁸

Interestingly, although the condemnation of the Treasures was often categorical and determined, the skeptical writings offered hardly any historical, philological, or philosophical arguments for the validity of their position. Still, the rather simplistic form of polemical critique found in these works did not prevent them from becoming a standard model for subsequent Treasure condemnations by the newer schools. Thus, two centuries following the critiques of Sa paṇ and the other early *gsar ma* polemicists, Ratna gling pa can sum up the skeptical arguments in the following paragraph:

⁵⁸ Translated in Sakya Pandita 2002: 162-163. The original Tibetan is: “*gter nas byung ba'i glegs bam dang/ gzhan nas brkus pa'i chos lugs dang/brtsam chos dang ni rmi lam chos/ blo bzung ma yi chos lugs la/ brgyud pa rdo rje 'chang la bsnyags/ de la'ang gzhan dag lung len pa/ chos dang 'gal ba lta ci smos/ rang lugs dang yang 'gal ba yin*” (Sakya Pandita 2002: 321). For further mention of the critique of Sa paṇ and 'Jig rten mgon po see Martin 2001, esp. 111-116; 156-157. See also Karmey 1988: 152.

“There are some ghostly and sectarian people... who criticize the Treasures. They say that the Treasures are false and never were concealed. [Furthermore], even if the Treasures should happen to be genuine, they will say that they are [mere] earth teachings, stone teachings, and wooden teachings as they were concealed in earth, rocks, water etc. Yet other people claim that if the Treasures had been concealed at the time of O rgyan padma [i.e. Padmasambhava], during the early spread of the teaching, they would have turned to dust by now. Therefore, since [the Treasures] are still intact, it is claimed that we deceptively hide and discover them ourselves. Still others say that the Treasures are controversial, have little success, and only benefit others slightly while yet other people say that the oral transmissions of the Treasures are broken as they do not have an oral lineage. They call them “teachings that burst forth” because it is claimed they have no spoken transmission or empowerment.”⁵⁹

One must of course be cautious in readily accepting Ratna gling pa’s characterization of the skeptical views as he himself is a significant stakeholder in the whole debate and so would have no interest in making the skeptical critique look any

⁵⁹ “gang zag gi rigs dregs pa can/ phyogs zhen can... gter ma la ‘di skad du rtsod de/ gter bya ba mi bden sbas pa med/ gter bden na yang/ sa brag shing/ chu la sogs pa la sbas pas/ sa chos rdo chos shing chos yin zer/ yang ‘ga na re/ gter o rgyan padma’i dus/ bstan pa snga dar dus sbas pa da rtsam song nas rdul song nas mi rul rang res sbas nas rang gis bton pa’i zog po yin zer/ yang gter chos rtsod pa can yin dar rgyas

more sensible than necessary. And yet, considering that his description of the views of the early skeptics, such as Sa paṇ (whom he as a customary refers to by other names!) is indeed not far off the mark and, as a minimum, we may reasonably assume from his summary that, until Ratna gling pa's time, the skeptical critique had developed only little, in terms of both form and substance, from its early formulations. This hermeneutical stalemate seems to have continued over the following centuries as the rhetoric and arguments put forth by the Dge lugs pa scholar Sum pa mkhan po (1704-1788) during the eighteenth century display only little evolution from the critique of the early days.⁶⁰ Here, although the Treasure revealers apparently no longer are possessed by demons, Sum pa mkhan po argues that the Treasures must be avoided as they are nothing but the works of charlatans (Kapstein 2000: 132). Kapstein has noted the lack of subtlety in Sum pa mkhan po's dismissal of the Treasures and rightly remarks:

“...we should not lose sight of the fact that scholarship consists not of merely arriving at conclusions, but also of justifying them. Sumpa Khenpo doubts the authenticity of [such Treasures as] the *Testimonial Record of Padmasambhava* and of the *Maṇi Kambum*, but never does he give us a detailed and critical account of his reasons for harboring those

'gro don chung zer ba dang/ yang gter ma bka' brgyud med pas bka chad yin/ snyan rgyud dang dbang bka' med rdol chos yin zer ba sogs" (Ratna gling pa 1977: 219.4-220.4).

⁶⁰ See Kapstein 2000: 131.

doubts. This being so, the correctness of his position is anything but self-evident.”⁶¹

In spite of the superficiality of the skeptical criticism the Ancient School must have felt that the skeptical accusations of fraud necessitated a reply. Thus, over the centuries, we find the emergence of a series of apologetic scriptures defending the authenticity of Treasure revelation. Among the various apologetical writings of the Ancient School the two most detailed works on Treasure revelation are the two “Treasure Chronicles” of Guru chos dbang (1979) and Ratna gling pa (1977). Besides these two texts we also find several shorter apologetic remarks on Treasure revelation in a number of works concerned with the general defense of the texts and practices of the Ancient School. Above, we have already looked at the most central of Guru chos dbang’s arguments and they have, furthermore, already been covered in some detail elsewhere

⁶¹ Kapstein 2000: 132. It can indeed seem puzzling that so many learned scholars, famed for their mastery of the finest subtleties of logic and reasoning, would sign on to such accusatory writings devoid of supportive arguments and reasoning. And yet, if we consider the difficulty involved in effectively disproving religious revelation, such as the Treasures, based on historical, philological, and even philosophical reasonings we can perhaps begin to understand the frustration these *gsar ma* scholars must have felt in being unable to conclusively establish the fraudulent nature of the Treasures with the very methodologies they otherwise had come to cherish in matters of textual verification. It seems certainly not implausible that this methodological exasperation could have pressured them into compromising with their otherwise rigidly applied standards of logical reasoning in order to, one way or another, cast doubt on the perceived frauds of the Ancient School who now, in the eyes of the skeptics, absurdly were claiming effortless access to the transmission of the divine dharma for the sake of which so many righteous and noble-minded beings of the past had endured great hardship on long and perilous journeys to the scorching plains of India.

(Gyatso 1994), so here we shall primarily focus on Ratna gling pa's Treasure defense. Running at two hundred fifty pages this text is both longer and more detailed than Guru chos dbang's Treasure chronicle and yet, in terms of their central themes, the two texts resemble each other closely as both authors are concerned with demonstrating the commonalities between the Treasures of the Ancient School and the generally accepted Indian Mahāyāna canons. The primary theme throughout Ratna gling pa's text is an argumentation that situates the revelatory activity of the Treasures firmly within mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism. Like Chos dbang, Ratna gling pa claims that Treasures are not only religious texts and objects revealed in Tibet but include anything meaningful that previously has been concealed, in actuality as well as figuratively, from the perception of sentient beings. This may include, but is not restricted to, the Buddha's teaching. Ratna gling pa defines a Treasure in the following words:

“It is a Treasure because it is concealed. It is a Treasure because it is hidden. It is a Treasure because it is inexhaustible. It is a Treasure because it fulfills [all] needs and wishes.”⁶²

Surely a wide definition. Still, a significant aspect of this broad appraisal is inevitably defined as the Buddha's teaching which, according to both Treasure chronicles, was repeatedly concealed and revealed in India as the archetypal example of a Buddhist Treasure. Having included the generally accepted Buddhist canons within the Treasure phenomenon the two commentators conclude that the Tibetan Treasure

⁶² “*gab pas gter/ sbas pas gter/ zad mi shes pas gter/ dgos 'dod 'byung bas gter ro*” (Ratna gling pa 1977: 39.3).

revelations represent no new or, for that matter, unusual spiritual transmission; in fact they merely continue an already well-established tradition of scriptural revelation. Having argued at length for the equation of accepted Indian scripture with the Treasures of the Ancient School, Ratna gling pa devotes the fifth and last chapter of his treatise to a specific rebuttal of particular objections to the Treasures on a point-by-point basis. In his summary of the skeptical critique (quoted above) we have already noted several concerns that outsiders put forth against the Treasures. Now, during this final part of his chronicle Ratna gling pa defends the Treasures at length against the respective claims that they are fake, originate in the elements, could not reasonably have survived into the present, are mistrusted, unpopular and of little benefit, devoid of a spiritual lineage, and emerge at random without warning (Ratna gling pa 1977: 220.4-232.1). Ratna gling pa starts out by addressing the most basic, and perhaps most serious, claim of them all - that the Treasures are basically fake and fraudulent. He addresses this serious challenge with a rhetorical question. If the Treasures were not authentic, Ratna gling pa asks, how can the skeptic account for the prevalence of self-appearing Treasure statues, hidden Treasure valleys, the numerous accomplished masters in the Treasure lineages, and the abundant riches that appear from the Treasures of wealth (220.4-221.2)? Presumably considering the question of the general authenticity of the Treasures settled with this brief discussion, Ratna gling pa continues his rejoinder by setting forth the untenability of dismissing the Treasures merely because they emerge from the five elements. The textual matrix for this rather odd objection seems to be the *Dgongs gcig yig cha* of 'Jig rten mgon po which says:

“There are some who would have it that teachings (chos) without lineages and earth teachings (sa chos), sky teachings (gnam chos), gter-ma [i.e. Treasures] and so on are profound and miraculous. But we hold that the teaching transmitted through a lineage is [truly] profound and miraculous.” (Martin 1997: 157)

However, as we can see from this quote, ‘Jig rten mgon po’s concern is not that the Treasures issue from the five elements but rather that they emergence without an established lineage. Thus, if we take Ratna gling pa’s response as a direct reply to ‘Jig rten mgon po’s Treasure critique it surely misconstrues the original intent. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that Ratna gling pa addresses a derogatory oral tradition, which dismisses the Treasures as “earth teachings” and so forth without the underlying hermeneutics of ‘Jig rten mgon po. In any case, whether addressing an actual or a misconstrued critique, Ratna gling pa points out that the Buddha himself was composed of physical particles and so was his speech. Furthermore, he notes, since the various precious substances involved in writing, such as gold, silver, copper, lapis lazuli etc., all are extracted from the earth, that would make any written text an earth teaching; using ink would make it a water teaching; while moving the hand freely through space when writing would make it a space teaching (221.2-222.2). Towards the claim that the Treasures would have been unable to survive the long period since Padmasambhava’s concealment without decay Ratna gling pa urges that the allegation be reconsidered in view of the way the Treasures originally were concealed. According to Ratna gling pa, the Treasures were not concealed “the way that ordinary folk store radishes and turnips” (*‘jigs rten pa rnams la phug dang nyung ma... sbed pa ltar byas med*) but were placed in

special containers made of rock, carefully sealed, and finally entrusted to well-suited storages, such as cliffs, caves, *stūpas*, and temples (222.2-223.2). Moving on, Ratna gling pa dismisses the claim that the Treasures should be faulty just because of being mistrusted in certain quarters by pointing out that no Buddhist teaching is one hundred percent free from dispute as all vehicles and schools of Buddhism continuously criticize the views, texts, and practices of others. Even while the Buddha was alive and teaching, Ratna gling pa says, he was not beyond others challenging his authority (232.2-224.3). The next charge that Ratna gling pa addresses; that the Treasures never spread in Tibet and became of benefit beings is, to Ratna gling pa, a clear lie that quickly can be shown as such by considering the great number of masters in the Ancient School who received great accomplishments through Treasure teachings and subsequently spread them to all parts of Tibet granting both temporal and ultimate happiness to numerous beings in the process (224.3- 225.6). One of the most serious accusations against the Treasures is the charge that they have lost their spiritual continuity and thus their spiritual power and relevance. Ratna gling pa therefore addresses this accusation in somewhat greater detail than the other skeptical objections he has been refuting. Essentially, Ratna gling pa claims an unbroken spiritual lineage for the Treasures as the revealer in a past existence already has received full spiritual transmission at the feet of Padmasambhava himself. He explains how Padmasambhava came to Tibet as an already fully enlightened Buddha and conferred all relevant empowerments and oral transmission on his Tibetan heart-sons, the discoverers to be. Only then were the Treasures concealed. During this time Padmasambhava would instruct his close disciples to reveal the Treasures in the future at more appropriate times. As these future times become the present the revealers locate the

Treasures based on preliminary Treasure guides (*kha byang*), also concealed by Padmasambhava, marking the exact location of the Treasure. Ratna gling pa points out that the revealer will already have received the complete transmission to the relevant Treasure in his past life as Padmasambhava's disciple. Now, however, in order to awaken this past karmic imprint, he must enter into a period of private appropriation of the Treasure and meet Padmasambhava in actuality, vision, or dream. This meeting will then restore his recollection of the past empowerments, prophecies, and oral transmissions. In Ratna gling pa's view the allegations that the Treasure possess no spiritual continuity is therefore without any merit and, citing a Treasure prophecy by Padmasambhava, he admonishes his readers to pay no more attention to the skeptical charges than a deer will be concerned with the sound of a running stream -- in other words, ignore it (225.6-231.2)! The last objection to the Treasures rebutted by Ratna gling pa is the concern that they suddenly appear out of the blue, a phenomenon derogatorily described as "teachings that burst forth" (*rdol chos*). These last two charges are similar in that they both display a concern with demonstrating unbroken spiritual continuity. To this latter objection Ratna gling pa replies that the Buddhist teaching originally "burst forth" from the realization of the Buddha and was transmitted in a line of masters in whose minds realization similarly appeared instantaneously so that the entire Buddhist teaching in fact has been transmitted in a process identical to the sudden appearance of the Treasures (231.2-232.1). In this way, Ratna gling pa considers the challenge to the Treasures' authenticity effectively reversed and concludes his Treasure chronicle presumably having addressed all the concerns found within the skeptical community.

Whether Ratna gling pa's arguments would have been sufficiently persuasive to convince any skeptics of the validity of the Treasures is of course doubtful. On the contrary, it seems in fact certain that the apologetical attempts of Treasure proponents such as Guru chos dbang and Ratna gling pa to argue Treasure authentication based on these inclusive philosophical positions, arguing that Treasure revelation essentially is a part of mainstream Buddhism, or, rather, that mainstream Buddhism *is* Treasure revelation fell on largely deaf ears as critics ignored these propositions and continued to replicate the critiques of yore.⁶³ In this way the exchange of views came to a hermeneutical halt and, as late as the nineteenth century, we find 'Jam mgon Kong sprul defending the Treasures against criticisms *à la* Chag lo tsā ba with essentially the arguments of Guru chos dbang (1976b: 297.3-302.4). Kong sprul first quotes from scriptures (*lung*) in support of fresh revelation (297.3-299.6) and then provides arguments (*gtan tshigs*) in favor of the authenticity of the Treasures (299.6-302.4). As these arguments closely mirror those of Chos dbang and Ratna gling pa he is brief on the subject and instead refers to these earlier works for detail. Kong sprul argues that, firstly, all Buddhist teachings are Treasures since they pass through the three basic transmission lineages and, secondly, all the teachings of the Mahāyāna canon are Treasures as they were previously concealed in secret locations and realms. Thus, Kong sprul concludes, no real distinction between the Mahāyāna canon and the Treasure scriptures proves tenable. Even though the Tibetan Treasure commentators on either side of the debate seem to

⁶³ It is noteworthy that the Ancient School's equation of the general Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna canons with its own Treasure revelations never were countered by the skeptics by pointing out the difference between the highly institutionalized form of revelation practiced by the Ancient School and the much less formalized Indian revelations.

have been largely content to follow the beaten track of previous polemical writers there are, on specific topics, brief exceptions to this rule. Consider, for example, the response of Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624), one of the most diligent polemicists to defend the Ancient School, to Sa skya paṇḍita's critique of the Treasures (quoted above).⁶⁴ Generally, in arguing the validity of the Treasures Sog zlog pa adheres to traditional arguments (see Sog zlog pa 1998: 149-152) but in discussing Sa paṇ's Treasure criticism he comes forth with a new apologetical position. Now, because of Sa paṇ's exalted status in Tibet the many traditions affected by his eager criticisms often seem to have dealt with his objections by quietly pretending that they did not exist. There were in fact only few scholars who chose to directly confront his criticisms -- regardless of how obnoxious they may have appeared. Therefore, in replying to Sa paṇ's critique of the Treasures, Sog zlog pa is not surprisingly hesitant to directly confront the great scholar. Instead he offers the following compromise:

“Although, according to some, this [critique by Sa paṇ] is of the Ancient School that is not so because the followers of the Ancient School do not trace their lineage to Vajradhara. Beyond him they trace their lineage to the five buddha families and to Samantabhadra. This [critique]

⁶⁴ A collection of Sog zlog pa's apologetical writings are found in Sog zlog pa 1998. This collection is important as it addresses, individually, the polemical attacks advanced against the Ancient School up until the sixteenth century thus providing a useful overview of the skeptical critique.

is therefore meant for the well-known Treasures of the Bka' brgyud school, such as the *Six Cycles of Equal Taste*.⁶⁵

In this way, Sog zlog pa is able to deflect Sa paṇ's criticism away from the Ancient School without openly criticizing him. Whether this move was appreciated by the practitioners of the *Six Cycles of Equal Taste* is of course an altogether different story. Another rare example of hermeneutical innovation is found in a writing by Rtse le sna tshogs rang grol of the Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma schools discussing, among other aspects related to the hagiographical writings on Padmasambhava, the *Bka' thang sde lnga* Treasures of U rgyan gling pa (Rtse le sna tshogs 1979). Here we find a rare acknowledgment of the potential value in the arguments of both parties in the polemical debate. Rtse le agrees that in general Treasure revelation is best understood in reference to the a-temporal transcendent realm from which anything can manifest but also points out that forgery is a real possibility that the Ancient School should not stubbornly ignore. Together with Mi pham's Treasure composition, to which we shall return below, this text represents a most unusual appreciative attitude of divergent positions and as such this text would deserve a separate detailed study. Still, for the present purposes, we may just consider the following remark as testimony to Rtse le's willingness to acknowledge the skeptical position:

“Although the main part of these two texts [i.e. the two versions of the *padma bka' thang*] surely is the words of the Great Master, obviously

⁶⁵ “‘di rnying ma la yin no zer kyang ma yin te/ rnying ma bas rdo rje ‘chang la brgyud pa mi bsnyag de’i dgong na rigs lnga dang/ kun tu bzang po yod pa la bsnyag/ ‘di ni ro snyoms skor drug la sogs pa bka’ brgyud la grags pa’i gter chos rnam” (Sog zlog pa 1998: 237).

some uneducated and foolish people have interpolated them with colloquial terms and phrases of their invention. Similarly, the famous *Five Chronicles* [i.e. *Bka' thang sde lnga*] are unmistakably a terma by Orgyen Lingpa. However, no matter how you examine the verbiage and meaning, it is unlike authentic terma teachings. For example, the assertion that Guru Rinpoche had a son and the predictions of people who later appeared I personally find implausible. The various versions of Padma Kathang are for the most part comprised of the teachings of Master Padmasambhava. Of course they possess great blessings, but it is simply hard for me to regard them as reliable historical sources.”⁶⁶

Even though we still do not see a fully developed critique of the Treasures based on concrete evidence, Rtse le's is an example of attempts within the Ancient School to heighten the level of debate to a more sophisticated and less categorical level. Now, before turning our attention towards Mi pham's discussion of the Treasure revealers, we shall conclude this discussion of the Tibetan Treasure polemics with some general remarks on this eristical literature and the influence it has exercised on the perception of the Treasures in the West.

Critique of scriptural revelation is not a phenomenon tied exclusively to Treasure revelation but represents a religious and philosophical dichotomy as old as the Buddhist tradition itself. Generally the early Buddhist communities seem to have shown little enthusiasm for strict historical authentications and scriptural validation was

⁶⁶ Translation by Erik Schmidt (Tsogyal 1999: 14-15).

predominantly based on stylistic adherence and soteriological value -- an approach that created a most fertile climate for the emergence and institutionalization of religious scripture.⁶⁷ Still, even in this liberal intellectual climate, noted by Davidson for its “astonishingly open approach to the development and institutionalization of new ideas in the old Buddhist scriptural format” (Davidson 2002a: 206), the authenticity of new scriptural traditions never went fully uncontested and frequently met with the critique of skeptics advocating a conservative approach to these matters based on historical verifications.⁶⁸

Although the Ancient School defended its Treasures within the framework of soteriologically validated authenticity, simultaneously it narrated a complex story of transmission and revelation seemingly unfolding in historical time. The apparent paradox between the soteriological defense of the Treasures and the historical elements found within these texts has led observers to conclude that the details put forth in the origin

⁶⁷ See Davidson 1990; 2002a. Already in the earliest Buddhist communities we find soteriologically motivated attempts at establishing scriptural authenticity. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, for example, mentions the legality of categorizing teachings by monks as ‘the word of the Buddha’ (buddhavacana) provided they agree with the *sūtras* and conform to reality (Davidson 1990: 300).

⁶⁸ On the Hinayāna/Mahāyāna relationship see Williams 2001: 11-33. Still, according to Davidson 2002a: 207, the concept of a closed Buddhist canon is fundamentally a non-Indian idea that originated in China and later was adopted in Tibet. Paradoxically, Davidson concludes, by closing the canon to preserve Indian Buddhism it was, in effect, only those minority communities who stood outside this decision who could “perpetuate the dynamics and values of Indian Buddhism that caused India to produce the world’s most massive scriptural corpus” (*ibid.*: 221). See also Kapstein 2000: 123-126 for a discussion of the historical approach to authenticity vs. the soteriological.

narrative of the Treasures demonstrate a concern with maintaining historical credentials and the legitimizing effect they supposedly bring about in the Tibetan consciousness (Gyatso 1993: 105-106). This view is, however, complicated as these very claims often became the target of skeptical criticism and so, instead of raising the validity of the Treasures, they became some of the most discredited features in the literature of the Ancient School.⁶⁹ Although the importance of demonstrating a firm historical identity for one's scriptures surely was a concern for all religious traditions of Tibet (the fact that the Tibetan canon was compiled on such criteria is evidence to this effect), the origin accounts of the Treasures are probably better understood as religious elements internal to the tradition rather than tools to convince the skeptical antagonists in the outside community. Surely, it would have taken little imagination for the thinkers of the Ancient School to foresee a skeptical reaction to their historical claims and yet the Treasure revealers continued, century after century, to root their revelations in the legends of the G.yar lung dynasty. This indicates to me that the historical claims were made, not because of nurturing some idealistic hope that skeptics abandon their disbelief and become Treasure adherents but, rather, as an internal communication to the followers of the tradition. It is therefore reasonable to understand the primary purpose of these accounts as providing a tangible origin for the visionary teachings of the Ancient School

⁶⁹ In the early polemical writings against the Treasures the historical claims of concealment are actually not directly questioned. Instead, the central critique of Chag lo tsā ba, 'Jig rten mgon po, and, Sa skya paṇḍita is centered on a perceived interruption of the spiritual transmission (Martin 2001: 111-113; 156-157). The Treasures are therefore mockingly called stone teachings (*rdo chos*), wind teachings (*lung chos*), water teachings (*chu chos*) etc. (see Guru chos dbang 1979: 105.1-5). Still, this criticism does implicitly question the historical legitimacy. In later centuries we find this criticism fully developed (Kapstein 2000: 132).

traced to a period of internally accepted religious authorities. The Treasure revealers were never compelled to manufacture historical narratives but did so to demonstrate the Treasures' origin; well knowing that these very claims would be frowned upon by rivaling religious schools and political groups.⁷⁰

In spite of the numerous historical claims to transmission, concealment, and revelation found throughout the Treasure literature, we might therefore more suitably situate the validating force of the Treasures outside of this narrative within the intuition of the devotional community. Deferring the validating authority from the historical narrative onto the intuition of the followers of the Ancient School might seem at first to ignore the plethora of historical claims contained in the Treasures but this perception would be mistaken if we, as I suggest, regard the historical narratives as never intended for such ultimate verification. Treasure scriptures frequently state that the historical claims are told for the purpose of “engendering confidence” (*nges shes skye pa*) in the Treasure but the certainty they are meant to provide is for the devotee who already accepts the general concept of Treasure revelation rather than for someone opposed to this phenomenon. The historical accounts in the Treasure literature must therefore be considered of only marginal influence on the issue of authenticity where they clearly are

⁷⁰ Had the Treasure revealers wished for a general acceptance of their revelations they could have presented their visionary teachings as just that; meditative visions (*dag snang*) in which deities communicate enlightened messages. In that case, their revelations, unburdened by historical claims, would not have been subject to the same kind of criticism. The Treasure revealers must surely have known that their historical claims would be contested and yet they consistently persisted in retelling the narratives of the G.yar lung dynasty -- a fact that favors the view that internal religious considerations were behind the claims to antiquity.

subservient to the acceptance of the Treasure by the collective wisdom of the community personified in its leading religious figures. Only then, once a teaching has been accepted within this fundamental validating framework, can the historical narratives come to the fore and fulfill their practical purpose of imbuing the insider with respect and veneration for its exalted origin. Conversely, without a religious authority, embraced by the community, to verify the validity of the Treasure, no amount of confidence engendering tales would confer ultimate credibility upon it.

A related issue to the validation of the Treasures is the challenge involved with evaluating historical claims when little (and sometimes no) concrete evidence exists on which to form definitive conclusions. For the overwhelming majority of earth Treasures the only physical evidence available is the yellow scroll (*shog ser*) from which the Treasure manifests in the psychic vision of its revealer (Gyatso 1986).⁷¹ In the case of mind Treasures, however, no physical evidence whatsoever remains on which to judge the claims to antiquity as the entire revelatory process occurs exclusively within the mind of the revealer (Thondup 1986: 164-166). In either case, the actual revelation of the

⁷¹ The role of the yellow scrolls is significant as the Ancient School claims that these scrolls must be physically dateable to the eighth or ninth centuries (Gyatso 1993: 106). Interestingly, although both skeptics and devotees would find a common platform for Treasure authentication in the yellow scrolls, to my knowledge, no study has yet attempted an actual dating of these objects. Thus, the only concrete evidence available for evaluating the historical claims of the tradition has up to now been overlooked. This, however, has not kept scholars from making categorical statements on the subject. Lopez even finds that the reluctance of some scholars to form definitive conclusions, in spite of the absence of thorough historical studies, would make for a “fascinating topic” of study (Lopez 1998: 243, no. 32). See Martin 2001: 16-19 for arguments cautioning against generalizing conclusions.

Treasure is predominantly a mnemonic process that leaves us with only little or, at times, no historical material from which to judge a potential relation to dynastic Tibet. Furthermore, it is worth keeping in mind that the Ancient School has never embraced the suggested association of the Treasures with the dynastic period according to the principles of realist historical interpretation but consistently emphasized the lack of intrinsic existence of time and matter whereby the ultimate verification of the Treasures is transposed to an abstract philosophical level of validation. Note, for instance, how a *tantra* revealed by Mchog gyur gling pa (1829-1870), claims to originate within the Realization Lineage of the Conqueror. Here the Buddha Vajrakīlaya⁷² arises from the basic space of phenomena (*dharmadhātu*) and teaches a gathering of students inseparable from himself in a reality that clearly defies historical and geographical pinpointing:

“Vajrakumāra arose from *dharmadhātu* in the form of wrathful compassion... He appeared in the desire realm, like a bolt of lightning, and liberated Rudra from the desire realm. He blessed the *skandhas* to be a charnel ground palace and resided within it without moving... Then the gatherings of the wrathful ones of the ten directions arose from the places

⁷² Vajrakīla or Vajrakīlaya? Although the greater consensus today among western scholars seems to favor the name Vajrakīla as the Sanskrit form of the Tibetan Rdo rje phur pa this preference has, in my view, as of yet not been conclusively argued. Although the term *vajrakīla* exists in Indic Buddhist sources (Boord 2002: 3-75) it is not certain that it refers to the deity practiced in Tibet. In the Indian sources this name refers either to a ritual dagger used in wrathful practices or wrathful deities manifesting in the form of such an implement. Therefore, while also considering the grammatical arguments of Mayer (1996: 165, no. 1), I have opted for Vajrakīlaya (used by Tibetans for centuries) until further evidence emerges. Naturally, wherever reference is made to the ritual dagger itself I use the form “*kīla*.”

of the body of the Great Glorious One and he spoke these words [to them]...”⁷³

Although the transmission lineage of this *tantra*, like most Treasures, subsequently sees itself elaborately attached to an historical “reality”, it emerges so thoroughly saturated with the narratives of the Realization Lineage of the Conqueror that any later historical claims, no matter how detailed and explicit, hardly can be taken at face value and be considered exhaustive explanations. For that reason Gyatso’s assertion that “much of the Treasure lore was generated to counter the suggestion that the Treasures were apocryphal” (1998: 149) seems to partially misconstrue the intent behind the historical narratives. Similarly, her claim that a primary defense of the Treasures was to declare that they had been “originally formulated by a buddha, that is, somewhere on the Indic Buddhist scene” (*ibid.*) is also somewhat questionable. The Treasures certainly do emphasize the role of the Indian master Padmasambhava and his Tibetan disciples in the transmission accounts but, as was suggested above, the primary function of these historical descriptions is to provide a religious origin account for the Treasure teachings rather than converting outside skeptics. Furthermore, it is a hallmark of the Treasure teachings to repeatedly emphasize their roots in the transcendent. The buddha of the origin account is therefore not necessarily a buddha figure connected geographically to India but rather the principle of enlightenment itself. The Ancient School has often

⁷³ “*Rdo rje gzon nu zhes bya ba chos kyi dbyings nas snying rje kro bo’i skur bzhangs pa... ‘dod kham kyi gnas su thog bab pa ltar byon nas ‘dod kham kyi rudra bsgal phung po dur khrod kyi gzhal yas khang du byin gyis rlabs pa de’i nang g.yo ba med par bzhugs.... yang dpal chen po’i sku’i gnas rnams nas phyogs bcu khro bo’i tshogs spros te ‘di skad ces gsungs so*” (Mchog gyur 1982k: 72,74).

deemphasized the historical link of its canonical scriptures to India. Consider Dudjom Rinpoche's remarks:

“None the less, some jealous persons created discord by, for example, declaring that certain of the ancient *tantra* had been composed in Tibet because they did not exist in India. However the non-existence of those *tantras* in India did not prove them to be inauthentic. Even the *tantras* which did exist in India did not originate there: they were brought forth by great accomplished masters from the domains of the gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *ḍākinīs* and so on... and later they were introduced to India.”
(Dudjom 1991: 889).

Thus, in order to fully appreciate the historical claims found in the Treasures it is important to acknowledge their a-historical ultimate origin. In turn this might help to cast new light on the religious purposes for these narratives as spiritual links, neither fully mundane nor completely beyond, between the practitioner of Treasures and the transcendent ultimate from where these Treasures spring.

As we have already seen, even though the body of polemical literature continued to grow, the basic arguments presented by the two parties remained disproportionately static and the Treasures were continuously presented either as truly enlightened revelations or conning schemes of trickery. If we consider the link that existed in Tibet between acknowledged possession of scriptural authority and concrete political survival it is perhaps somewhat understandable that the majority of commentators showed little interest in searching for a middle ground in validating the Treasures. What is more

surprising, however, is the tendency in a number of Western studies to adopt the very same dialectical parameters metered out by the Tibetan tradition. This has been pointed out by Matthew Kapstein, who remarks:

“During the mid-1980s I expected that we would soon see new developments in traditional approaches to these matters, catalyzed by the encounter with contemporary methodologies of textual criticism. I could not have anticipated however, that European and American scholars of Tibetan Buddhism would find themselves defending or condemning the “Treasures” in a manner that closely recapitulates the polarities of the old Tibetan disputes.” (Kapstein 2000: 135)

As Kapstein mentions, the presentation of the Treasures in the academy has often been a continuation of the traditional Tibetan propositions of either/or perpetuating even the traditional reluctance to provide evidence for the conclusions drawn. For example, Michael Aris, in his well-known Treasure study (1989), repeatedly condemns Padma gling pa as a fraud but never offers any convincing basis for his assertion. Finally, towards the end of his study, Aris puts forth the following exhortation:

“Most important of all, many of Pemalingpa’s contemporaries were of the opinion that he was basically a fraud. If they, with the radical and brilliant skeptic Drukpa Kunley among them, not to mention the “reformed” Gelukpa school, were capable of holding that view, then surely the rational and critical scholars of the twentieth century can do so too.” (Aris 1989: 97)

Aris never mentions why a rational and critical scholar would accept the evaluations of ‘Brug pa kun legs (1455-1529), “the madman” (*smyon pa*) as he was also known, whose eccentric views and behavior challenged all established figures and institutions (see Dowman 1998), and of his fifteenth century Dge lugs pa contemporaries, well-known for their skepticism toward the Ancient School, as evidence to Padma gling pa’s spiritual authenticity. What is clear, however, is Aris’ adoption of a politicized Tibetan agenda in order to argue a claim that is difficult to establish by rational and critical means. Aris is, however, not the only scholar to employ a traditional canonical/apocryphal textual framework. For example, in studying the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, Schwieger clearly states that, in his view, the Treasure texts must be false because their sheer number precludes the possibility that one person (Padmasambhava) could have authored them all (Schwieger 1990: XXXI). Schwieger further speaks of the fabricated colophons of the Treasures (XXIX) and how it is certain that the Treasure revealers employ tricks and deception in dealing with the public (XXXI). Still, however, like Aris, Schwieger provides no concrete evidence for these latter claims.⁷⁴

Not everyone has been as skeptical as Aris and Schwieger. In fact, what seems to have irritated Aris is “a peculiar reluctance on the part of many modern scholars to

⁷⁴ I do not wish to pass judgment here on the personal theories of Aris and Schwieger. Even the Ancient School did in fact acknowledge the presence of widespread fraud in the name of Treasure revelation. What is of concern, however, is their method of advancing definitive claims without providing reasonings for such conclusions. As this method hinders a full understanding of the complexity of the Treasure literature its suitability in academic studies is questionable. For a listing of Western studies skeptical to Treasure revelation see Gyatso 1998: 295, no. 64.

recognize the entirely fabricated nature of the Tibetan “Treasure-texts” (1989: 96). Aris then lists some of the studies that have presented charitable views towards the Treasures (96-97). Generally, these examples consist mostly of brief remarks and tend to be less definitive in their evaluations of the Treasures but, like the skeptical positions of Aris and Schwieger, they offer little, or no, explanation for the process through which authors assume their view and form their judgments.⁷⁵ It is of course not all scholarship on the Treasures that falls within these two opposing camps but, as we have just seen, there has been a tendency in several studies to assume positions traditionally set forth in Tibetan debates to the effect that significant features of the Treasure tradition have become insufficiently acknowledged.⁷⁶ Once it is understood that, to the Ancient School, the very

⁷⁵ Note also Samuel’s commentary on Aris’ study: “Pema Lingpa is perhaps a poor case on which to argue the authenticity of *terma* revelations, but Aris’ judgment of fraud may go too far. Pema Lingpa probably used his skills as an artisan to dress up and stage-manage the production of his revealed texts, but his numerous trances and visions, with their traditional shamanic language seem to have been real enough” (Samuel 1993: 298). Determining the validity of a shamanic vision is in itself a complicated matter but referring, as Samuel does, to the ‘shamanic language’ used by Pad ma gling pa as a validating factor is a problematic yardstick as the literary style of most Treasures is overwhelmingly uniform and very easily reproducible (cf. Mi pham’s comments below). Samuel’s main point is, however, not to establish whether the Treasures are historically authentic and he does in fact remark that “In the last analysis, the question of how far particular *tertön* are acting in good faith is less important than whether their revelations are accepted and what the implications are for the ongoing processes of Tibetan religious life of their acceptance and rejections” (1993: 299).

⁷⁶ Good examples of balanced studies, rich in textual evidence is Mayer 1996: 70-90 and Davidson 2002a. In discussing the Treasures, Mayer demonstrates the many Indian Buddhist precursors for Treasure revelation while Davidson calls attention to the “consensual authentication” of Indian Buddhists that helped

being of the Treasures *per se* defies historical pin-pointing, the question of authenticity needs a much broader methodological approach than the one employed by traditional polemicists. It was suggested above that in spite of the many historical claims associated with Treasure discovery their ultimate authentication rests on their acceptance by a community of devotees. To appreciate this approach to Treasure validation it is necessary to suspend one's habit of defining veracity in historical terms and instead engage with the Treasures as revelatory products, or, in short; appreciating them as scripture rather than simply as text.⁷⁷ There has been a reluctance among Buddologists and Tibetologists to accept this view with regard to the Treasures but it should be pointed out that this hesitation can be identified in other branches of Religious Studies too. In a profound and insightful study that unfortunately so far has not been recognized by scholars working in the Treasure tradition, Cantwell Smith (1993) argues that scripture (and the authentication that made it so) is created from a process of human interactions rather than historical verification. Smith suggests that the academic emphasis on historical methodologies is a strategy created by scholars trying to avoid the hermeneutical

shape the canonical openness characterizing Treasure revelation. As we shall see below, this form of authentication is in certain regards aligned with the approach proposed by Mi pham.

⁷⁷ Alternatively, if the continued application of historical criticism is to have relevance with regard to Treasure revelation, researchers must make use of actual philological, historical and art historical methodologies. As it was mentioned above, although most Treasures are revealed independent of physical reality, we do have extant textual material and artifacts that are claimed to possess ancient origins. Such objects would be ideal starting points for scholars engaged in historical criticism. However, as far as I am aware, such a study is yet to appear.

challenges posed by a diversity of religions and the interpretations of their beliefs. He states,

“There are several ways of ducking this problem, of avoiding the challenge. Some are contrived by religious people, some by academics. None is convincing. Of the various devices that the academic world has developed, enabling it not to wrestle with the issue, one has been quietly to abandon the notion of scripture. [Exemplifying his statement by referring to the academic study of the Old Testament, Smith continues:] That [the texts studied] were “scripture” had ceased not only to matter to such scholars, but had in fact virtually ceased to mean anything.” (Smith 1993: 15)

Smith goes on to critique this methodological singularity and teasingly describes the unwillingness of scholars to engage with religious text as scripture as an “academic fundamentalism” on par with religious fundamentalism that refuses to acknowledge value in other traditions or interpretations outside of their own. Smith’s observations do indeed apply to Treasure scholarship but he provides a perhaps even more important insight regarding the nature of scripture itself:

“Fundamental, we suggest, to a new understanding of scripture is the recognition that no text is a scripture in itself and as such. People – a given community – make a text into scripture, or keep it a scripture: by treating it in a certain way. I suggest: *scripture is a human activity*.” (1993: 18)

In these words we see that Smith's observation is both simple and yet significant as it points to, firstly, the truth that unless a "given community" accepts a certain text to be scripture it will not receive such an exalted status and, secondly, the unsuitability of defining scriptural authenticity with the yardstick of historicity when scripture per definition belongs to a realm beyond the measurable. In this way Smith challenges us to expand our methodological horizon and look for alternative avenues to explore the richness of text perceived as scripture. In spite of the prevalence of Treasure studies (Tibetan as well as Western) seemingly determined to ignore such alternative avenues, it would be much too premature to pronounce the entirety of Tibetan Treasure hermeneutics caught up in the polarized and stagnant debates of right and wrong. In fact, as I will argue in the following, we have the existence of a fascinating late nineteenth century scripture to indicate otherwise.

Mi pham's View – A New Hermeneutics?

The text in question, belonging to the Treasure tradition, discusses the identity, not of the Treasures themselves, but of the revealers who claim to have uncovered this religious material. Previous Western scholarship concerning the validation of the Treasure revealers is not only sparse but when the occasional reference to original sources occurs, it usually turns out to be a mere side remark lacking substantial information. In contrast, the present text, which offers an extended discussion of the issue, is a composition entitled *The Gem That Makes the Waters Sparkle: An Examination of The Treasure Revealers* found in the writings of the renowned

nineteenth-century master Mi pham rgya mtsho.⁷⁸ Compared to other works by Mi pham, this text is a relatively concise composition which perhaps explains the fact that it so far has remained unnoticed in the West. Nevertheless, in spite of its brevity, *The Gem* is of great value for the study of Treasure revealers and offers a most interesting alternative to the traditional Tibetan debate of authenticity. In this work Mi pham acknowledges that certain figures within the Treasure tradition, to which he himself belonged,⁷⁹ indeed are nothing but frauds whose sole aim it is to capitalize on the faith of the devotee in search of genuine spiritual counsel. By emphasizing that there are authentic revealers in contrast to the frauds Mi pham initially appears to position himself within the traditional black and white polemical framework but he later leaves the polemics behind and offers a thought provoking alternative with regard to the hermeneutics of Treasure validation. In *The Gem*, Mi pham diverts from his usual scholastic writing style and presents a lively critique, full of humor and sternness, with regard to what he sees as simple charlatans imitating authentic Treasure revealers. His analysis is an intriguing source for this largely unexplored issue for several reasons. Most importantly, it is a rare acknowledgement that the issue of authenticity regarding the Treasure tradition warrants more scrutiny and methodological consideration than the standard polemical evaluations would have us believe. Secondly, as a critique of the Treasure revealing community stemming from the

⁷⁸ *Gter ston brtag ba chu dwangs nor bu* (Mi pham 1984); here after “*The Gem*.” On Mi pham see Pettit 1999; Schuh 1973b. For an introduction to his collected works see my “Introduction to the Tibetan Text” in Mipham 2003.

⁷⁹ Mi pham was posthumously recognized as a Treasure revealer of mind Treasures (Dudjom 1991: 880). More importantly, he was one of the foremost students of ‘Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang po who was intimately involved in Treasure revelation throughout his life.

tradition itself it provides us with important insight into the challenges facing the Ancient School in curbing what appears to have been a widespread presence of deceit in the name of Treasure revelation. The fact that an insider challenges the authenticity of several proclaimed revealers shows us the severity of the challenge imposters put to the Ancient School in maintaining a clean name and reputation. Perhaps Mi pham felt that this type of challenge would be difficult to address effectively in an environment of traditional polemical discourse and by adopting a more colloquial and direct style of writing he would be able to address the issue in a fresh and straightforward manner that would be comprehensible by commoners as well as scholars. In so doing he created a unique composition prescribing alternative avenues for Treasure validation; avenues that, to my knowledge, never have been journeyed by neither the community of Tibetan scholars nor the guild of Tibetologists studying their works. In consideration of the significance of this work for the study of the Treasure tradition the entire text is presented below in translation. Still, even though Mi pham's work for the most part speaks clearly for itself, a short introduction might nevertheless be in order.

The Gem is a brief text of only twelve pages. Acknowledging the polemical nature of the text, it was placed by the editors of Mi pham's collected works after his replies to Dge lugs pa criticism of his controversial *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra* commentary (Kun bzang dpal ldan: 67). According to Mi pham's own brief colophon, it was composed "suddenly as it came to mind"⁸⁰ and its style and language do indeed convey a sense of freshness and directness rarely found in classical Tibetan literature. The text contains no opening verses of praise or prayer and immediately sets out to address the issue in a

⁸⁰ "Ces pa'ang 'phral dran mi pham pas so" (Mi pham 1984: 487).

straightforward manner free from potentially distracting philosophical sophistications. The fact that this is not an “ordinary” scholastic Mi pham composition makes it all the more intriguing and fascinating as a window to the Treasure tradition because it allows Mi pham to speak from his heart in a way that addresses the culprits directly and hits home more effectively than the elegant prose style for which he is so famously known. The direct tone in his critique of the self-proclaimed revealers brings immediacy to his words and underscores his message that falsity roams loose and needs to be addressed.

The spiritual climate of Mi pham’s homeland, Eastern Tibet, was generally inclined towards a charitable perception of the Treasure tradition, so Mi pham is not obliged to defend the basic premises of the tradition in his analysis. Instead he can concentrate on weeding out what he perceives to be negative elements within the Treasure culture. In this cleanup process, he begins by characterizing the false revealers and then proceeds to evaluate the damage they inflict. Towards the end of his analysis, he offers the devotee suggestions on how to identify these imposters. The fact that Mi pham admits, right from onset, that charlatans exist among the ranks of Treasure revealers shows us that even in the East Tibetan heartland of the Ancient School there existed a significant public concern that not all revelations claiming their source in the wisdom of enlightenment could be trusted. Previous scholarship for the most part has referred to criticism of the Treasure tradition as stemming from scholars outside the Ancient School, but Mi pham makes it clear that the issue of authenticity is a concern for the Ancient School as much as it is for all others. In fact he urges the followers of the Ancient School to take the outsiders’ critique to heart:

“I think that we should not blame those other groups who gossip [about the Treasure tradition]. Those words are in fact nectar-like gentle advice, so it is necessary to try to comprehend their real meaning.”⁸¹

Although Mi pham openly admits to the falsity of certain Treasure revelations we should not be led to conclude that he generally finds Treasure revelations to be suspect and spurious. Rather, the goal of his analysis is to expose the false revealers and expel them from the community so that the inspired lives and scriptures of genuine masters who reveal authentic Treasures can shine unblemished by public mistrust brought on by such frauds and imposters. For Mi pham to actively engage in this sort of polemic, the mood of the public at the time must have been one of considerable disfavor of the Treasure tradition and the existence of this text is a testimony that even in the eastern regions of Tibet, where the Treasure tradition normally had enjoyed its core patronage

⁸¹ “*Gzhan phyogs dag kha zer ba la lan khag mi ‘dug snyam mo. de sogs tshig ‘jam res phan tshig bdud rtsi ‘dra bas don gnad go nges sbyar bar bya’o*” (476. 1). To acknowledge, as Mi pham does, the merit in the views of outside critics of one’s tradition was, although unusual, not entirely unheard of in Tibet. Two centuries earlier at a time when criticism of the Ancient School seems to have been particularly vociferous Rtse le sna tshogs rang grol comments: “The teachings of the Secret *Mantra* of the Early Translations are profound, extensive, and marvelous. Unfortunately their followers fool themselves with pursuing the upkeep of livelihood and attainment of temporary aims, instead of endeavoring through practice to gain realization. Leading the life of a householder, they neither belong to the category of *sūtra* nor *tantra*. They are nothing but a dishonor to the Early Translations. This is exactly the reason why followers of the Sarma [*gsar ma*] Schools, both learned and ignorant, not only expel the teachings and followers of the Nyingma School from the confines of Buddhism, but find them as loathsome as beholding a pool of vomit.” (Tsogyal 1999: 14)

and following, critical voices had been gaining strength. The internal controversies over the compilation of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (see Mkha' khyab rdo rje 1981b; Blondeau 1988) must certainly have contributed to the tattered image of the tradition but the misgivings that Mi pham addresses in this text seem to have been rooted in a more fundamental and widespread suspicion among the general population. The public mistrust against the Treasure revealing community is acknowledged by Mi pham, who speaks to the frauds in the following way,

“Hey Treasure revealers! Although all inhabitants of the Snowy Land will claim to have heartfelt interest and trust in Guru Padma, they do feel weary seeing the deceit of liars claiming to be Treasure revealers... so stop lessening the fortune of those who have trust in Padma.”⁸²

Later, Mi pham supports this statement by quoting from the *Chronicle of Padmasambhava* by U rgyan gling pa that states, “except for dead dogs, anything is revealed as Treasure”⁸³ referring, in Mi pham's interpretation, to a weariness regarding random objects being presented by imposters as religious artifacts blessed by saints in a by-gone dynastic era. There seems to have been a tendency in the scholarly establishment of the Ancient School to view the so-called “new Treasures” (*gter gsar*) with a certain measure of skepticism while referring to the “older Treasures” (*gter rnying*) as genuinely

⁸² “*Kye gter ston pa dag gangs can pa dag guru padma la snying nas mi mos mi den zer phod mkhan su mi 'dug kyang gter ston yin zer ba tshos rdzun sogs kyis zol mthong nas yid sun te...rgyal dbang padma la sems can mos pa'i skal pa chung ngur ma byed cig*” (476).

⁸³ “*Gter nas khyi ro min pa gang yang byung*” (484). The original passage can be found in U rgyan gling pa 1996: 576.

authentic and worthy of practice. Mi pham makes it clear on several occasions that he is of that persuasion and hails such early figures as Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, Guru chos dbang, Rig 'dzin rgod ldem (1337-1408), Ratna gling pa, and Karma gling pa (1326-?) as authentic masters whose Treasures can be followed with confidence. Mi pham's concern with the flourishing of newer Treasures was also voiced earlier by Rtse le sna tshogs rang grol who commented that:

“In this dark age it seems that no one engages in teaching, studying, or practicing the flawless older termas [i.e. the Treasures]... The teachers waste their lives chasing after the novelty of so-called new termas or anything that resembles a terma, which nowadays proliferate like mushrooms on a summer meadow. On seeing this sad state of affairs, an old ignorant monk like me can do nothing but shed tears.” (Tsogyal 1999: 14)

Clearly, several masters within the Ancient School had concerns that the many recent revelations included the works of charlatans and frauds.⁸⁴ So how does Mi pham characterize these false revealers? From the beginning it is evident that our author has only little sympathy for those who deceptively claim to reveal spiritual Treasures. He describes these people as power hungry individuals who shy no means to achieve the fame and economic benefits afforded genuine spiritual masters in Tibet. In a lively blend of prose and poetry he exposes the many tricks that such individuals will employ in order

⁸⁴ It should be borne in mind that not all recent revelations were deemed suspect by Mi pham. In fact, Mi pham's principal teacher, 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, was a most prolific Treasure revealer and the authenticity of his revelations was surely never doubted by Mi pham.

to gain their desired goals. Clearly, according to Mi pham, these goals are dominated by the wish for fame and wealth and the pleasant by-products they bring about. Lamenting the prevalence of such desires he exclaims,

“If you carefully examine those who announce Treasure teachings [you will see that] because of seeking fame, looking for wealth and searching for women, they place hopes in their [false] Treasures and their expectations burn like fire. How rare to [find Treasure revealers] free from lies and deceit!”⁸⁵

These are of course not novel themes in the life of a fraud, but their descriptions in this text are intriguing as they offer a glimpse into the culture and politics surrounding the Treasure tradition and its revelatory output. As Mi pham introduces the reader to the schemes of the false revealers we hear of practices such as inserting the names of wealthy people into the preceding prophesy (*byang bu*) of the Treasure (485.2), lobbying spiritual authorities for recognition (486.4-5), declaring beautiful women as religious emanations especially suited for partnership (485.3), and the common Tibetan (and perhaps universal?) practice of denouncing adversaries as deceitful demons (*ibid*). The predictable result of these actions is that the faith of the community is shaken and decreased. Mi pham deplores this state of affairs and speaks directly to the imposters in an attempt to change their crooked ways. In addressing the false revealers he adopts a Tibetan strategy commonly employed in communicating with demonic obstacle makers

⁸⁵ “*Legs par brtags na gter chos zer pa rnams / grags ‘dod nor ‘dod bud med ‘dod pa’i phyir / gter la re zhing skam chags me ltar ‘bar / rdzun dang zog po med pa dkon ‘di ci*” (482).

by first issuing a polite request followed by a wrathful threat of the unpleasant consequences failing compliance. He first appeals to the moral conscience of the false revealers by reminding them of the destabilizing effect they have on the community of followers where they cause the faithful to give rise to suspicion towards the entire Treasure tradition thereby severing their connection to the liberating instructions of Padmasambhava. For those who remain immune to such requests Mi pham then issues a warning of the dire karmic consequences awaiting such liars when, in future existences, they will find their tongues transformed into plows employed for farming. Thus, Mi pham reminds the false revealers, there are severe consequences to all parties when someone falsely assumes the mantle of a spiritual adept.

In spite of the fact that Mi pham up to this point has provided a lively account of the imposters and their unfortunate effect on the Treasure tradition the issue of how to definitively determine the authenticity of such figures has not yet been resolved and one is still left wondering what to do about the Treasure revealers and their claims. Clearly, since Tibetan religious history is amply filled with accounts of respected saints behaving in highly unconventional manners, the roguish actions described above cannot in themselves constitute any final measure for conclusively identifying a fraud and so, although the ways of the charlatans appear deplorable by any standard, evaluations based on mere behavioral observation seem insufficient. It is not until the very end of his treatise that Mi pham proposes a measure by which to finally settle the question of authenticity. When he makes his suggestion it appears in such a straightforward and simple manner that the profundity of his statement and its implications for the topic easily could be overlooked. Having followed Mi pham through his stern disclosure of the

fraudulent imposters we arrive at the concluding verse of the text where he finally suggests that,

“If you should ever feel doubt in this regard, it is best to resolve this hesitance in the presence of a powerful person.”⁸⁶

This simple advice is significant for it points directly to the realization that although the Treasure community is plagued by a group of deceitful charlatans behaving in outlandish ways, there is, if one really searches for hard facts, no verifiable evidence to aid the devotee in distinguishing these deplorable frauds from those beings lauded by Mi pham as authentic compassionate masters. Naturally, the lifestyle of a fraud would be predictably short-lived if it did not outwardly resemble its object of imitation, but the real reason that makes the two groups so difficult to distinguish is that both parties predominantly identify the source for their discovery in the mind of the revealer thereby suspending the impact of the kind of verifiable evidence on which people otherwise ordinarily rely when assessing claims of origin. When Mi pham suggests that only a spiritually powerful person can determine the validity of the Treasure revealers it is an acknowledgment that evaluations based exclusively on historical premises or observations of behavioral conduct will fail to provide definitive answers and so it is, ultimately, according to Mi pham, only the spiritual intuition of authoritative leaders that can validate the claims of the Treasure revealers. Such leaders are, of course, only authoritative when embraced by a following that grants them their status and so the final say in Mi pham’s proposition must therefore by extension be identified within the

⁸⁶ “*De la the tshom za ba’i dus byung na / mthu ldan yod na yid gnyis sel bar rigs*” (487.4).

intuition of the community of devotees. In this way Mi pham acknowledges the power of the spiritual community, the saṅgha, in authenticating religious claims and suggests that only by this process can definitive certainty be reached.

If one recognizes that the source of Treasure revelation, as well as the authenticating community consensus of that origin claim, both belong in a reality that cannot be verified nor denied by ordinary means it appears a less rewarding exercise to perpetuate a debate of the Treasures along a simplified framework of true or false. Instead, by looking beyond the traditional saint/charlatan paradigm, there may be newer and more rewarding angles to discover for the study of this fascinating literature that may deepen our understanding of the philosophical and hermeneutical value of this ancient tradition. To acknowledge the prerogative of the community to authenticate scripture does not entail a failure to critically examine the religious claims of the Treasure tradition. Rather, this understanding allows us to engage with the Treasure revealers and their texts in a manner that is freed from the confines of methodologies that originate in Tibetan religious politics. Instead it allows us to explore with fresh eyes the intricate drama that unfolds when religious claims, inspired saints, deceitful frauds, and realist politics all come together in the complex phenomenon of Treasure revelation. Although Mi pham is firm in his denouncement of the fake revealers, we today, while not abandoning careful philological and historical evaluations of individual Treasure scriptures, may modify the definitive rhetoric that so often accompanies Treasure evaluations in Tibet and the West with the acknowledgement that what makes a visionary a saint or a text a scripture is dependent, in the final analysis, on the degree to which they are able to attract and sustain a community of devoted followers.

Is it possible that *The Gem* represents an attempt to develop and sharpen the analysis of the Treasures beyond its traditional confines? Although Mi pham firmly positions himself as a defender of the Treasure tradition, and so appears to take side within the traditional polarized debate there are signs in his proposed empowerment of community authentication and his stated willingness to appreciate and engage in the critique of outsiders that support such a claim; and so it would seem that in this brief composition we have stumbled upon a Treasure -- revealed, not necessarily from the timeless treasury of *dharmadhātu*, but from the seemingly inexhaustible pen of Mi pham rgya mtsho as yet another testament to his remarkable contributions to the hermeneutics of Buddhist Studies -- in Tibet and beyond.

Notes on the Translation

The Gem that Makes the Waters Sparkle is composed in an East Tibetan colloquial idiom employing local terms from the *sde dge* region where Mi pham lived. This fact proved a challenge to the translation and for its completion it was necessary to receive guidance from several scholars at Ka-Nying : Shedrup Ling Monastery, Boudhanath, Nepal. First Karma Ozer read the text with me and later many doubts were cleared up by Karma Gelek. Finally *mkhan po* Sherab Zangpo clarified the remaining difficult passages. For easy comparison the Tibetan text has been included in part IV. Numbers in square brackets, included in both the translation and the Tibetan text, refer to the original text found in the Zhe chen edition of Mi pham's collected works (Mi pham 1984).

[475]⁸⁷ The Gem that Makes the Waters Sparkle -- An Examination of the Treasure Revealers

First [the false Treasure revealer] gives a prediction and says, “This text should be recited and practiced and will have a good result.” People who believe in that will practice with diligence, but it will not turn out as prophesized. Furthermore, when fierce obstacles cause suffering to arise, [the false Treasure revealer] will blame it on bad luck. Even if he acknowledges the power of obstacles, [he will say that because] those who faithfully follow [his teaching] will not have to experience [such] obstacles it is still a suitable teaching to practice. Once [the teaching] has been well received and practiced it may seem that things are going well but because he puts the blame [for misfortune] on external [circumstances] intelligent people will know that his words are false.

If the Treasure were a practice that brought accomplishment, then it would be reasonable for the Treasure revealer to practice it sincerely himself and one would logically [expect] that the practice would bring him accomplishment because Guru Padma saw him as a vessel of instructions for that teaching. Therefore, if he himself has confidence in his teaching but fails to gain any accomplishment from it, it would be very difficult for others to receive [any blessings] from him. When, not knowing what blessings ultimately are like, those who practice [false Treasures coincidentally] become free from obstacles and experience temporary joy and happiness, they believe it is the power of the teaching. Although that is not [actually] the case, they venerate [that teaching] as virtuous and auspicious. However, since [true teachings] are extremely rare,

⁸⁷ Page numbers refer to Mi pham 1984 (see also part IV).

I think that we should not blame those other groups who gossip [about the Treasure tradition]. [476] Those words are in fact nectar-like gentle advice, so it is necessary to try to comprehend their real meaning.

Hey Treasure revealers! Although all inhabitants of the Snowy Land will claim to have heartfelt interest and trust in Guru Padma, they do feel weary seeing the deceit of liars claiming to be Treasure revealers. So, as it is said of the child and milk,⁸⁸ this will cause some people to lose faith even in authentic Treasure revealers, so stop lessening the fortune of those who have trust in Padma, King of the Conquerors. If a teaching is virtuous, auspicious, and has great blessings then, forget about faithful people, even those lacking faith will have no way around practicing it, just like the proverb about sores and dog fat.⁸⁹ Why is that? First, [the Treasure revealer] will himself examine the circumstances and make sure they are auspicious. Then, provided it is a sublime teaching, he will be skilled in both the approach and accomplishment practices; through them he will sustain the highest, middle, and lesser measures [of practice] to the best of his ability. If [he can do that] it will benefit others.

In the old Treasures the importance of the seal of secrecy and the practice of the Treasure were taught. That is also the case regarding new Treasures as well as in [practices] such as Mind Training, The Great Seal, and The Great Perfection in which one

⁸⁸ The saying goes: When a child has had its tongue burnt by milk it will blow even before drinking curd (*byis pa 'o mas kha 'tshigs nas / zho la phu yang 'debs bzhin 'thung*). See Cüppers 1998: 170 (6410). Thanks to Dan Martin for pointing me to this reference work. See also Pemba 1996: 134.

⁸⁹ The proverb goes: Whatever heals the sore will be applied, even if it is dog fat (*rma kha la phan na / khyi tshil yin yang byugs*). See Cüppers 1998: 200 (7613).

practices by oneself and attains realization. [The same is true] in any deity [practice], in which one can grant empowerment and oral instructions to others once a sign of the highest, medium, or lesser approach and accomplishment [stages] has appeared. That the benefit for others thereby is multiplied is directly visible and is also clearly taught in statements such as "Not having ripened oneself...." Furthermore, even though [a teacher] may not himself have realization [477] or great [experience] in recitation, it is still possible for others to achieve genuine accomplishment when given empowerment and meditation guidance, provided that the ritual is authentically rooted in a pure lineage. However, in new Treasure teachings the source is Padmasambhava and the lineage therefore only consists of the Treasure revealer so how would it be possible to ripen and liberate others unless [the Treasure revealer] himself has the warm signs of authentic pure visions and experience? Surely he needs such signs. One may think that a closer lineage would possess greater blessings and it is possible that a closer lineage will have greater blessings, but receiving the longer lineage of the old Treasure teachings in combination with a closer lineage creates a unique blessing of great power that is even better.

Still, since the new [Treasures] do not have a long lineage they do not satisfy the minds of intellectuals, and since it could even be that [these scholars] will feel doubt regarding the close lineage, why do we need [these] new recitation texts [at all]? It is certain that if one supplicates Padmasambhava through the early rituals, the Seven-Line Prayer, and The *Vajra Guru* [mantra], obstacles will surely be removed and accomplishments, the blessings of the dharma, will unfold. Such blessings are very meaningful, so please do not think that no blessings will occur unless there is a new ritual and liturgy for each time period and individual inclination. It is [in fact] impossible that

blessings and accomplishments would not manifest [478] for anyone who practices the great *sūtras* and *tantra* sections in [any of the] aeons, or limitless aeons, until the end of time, just as the Buddha, the Transcendent Conqueror did.

To make a false Treasure out of one's own religious writings is therefore a pretense to greatness and a disregard for the dharma that results in the fully ripened effect of having one's tongue become a plow. [Sometimes] various appearances may arise, both in dreams and the waking state, that cannot be determined either via the confidence of a pure vision or with the certainty that identifies based on signs, inner experience, and prophesies. In the best cases they will be dreams of writing religious poetry, teaching [the dharma] or composing [a scripture]. One may then begin to make preparations [for a Treasure revelation] and proclaim these [dreams] to be signs of auspicious times. These may be simple indications of your own wholesome meditation experiences, but it is doubtful whether they really will ripen others. Through the deceit of gods and demons perverted teachings and [teachings] similar to earth Treasures [sometimes] manifest as the legacy of beings who make aspirations to severely harm others. So just because you know how to compose some senseless rituals, it is wrong to deceptively propagate them by claiming to be a Treasure revealer. All the scriptures and oral instructions of the early translations teach that one must bring the *ḍākinīs* under one's influence because worldly gods and demons, such as the flesh eating *ḍākinīs*, will conjure up various misleading meditation experiences and signs of accomplishments to a practicing *yogin*, who will come under their power if he clings to them with desire.

It is necessary to know how this has been taught to be an obstacle for ultimately accomplishing the authentic dharma. [479] One should therefore keep these uncertain and

dubious psychic visions, dreams, and predictions secret without making a big fuss about them. It is obvious that a practitioner will turn out well if he is able to naturally liberate them. Since we can see with our own eyes how conceit, distraction, and longing for fame turn into obstacles, it would be good to give up writing numerous volumes of so-called Treasure teachings [explaining] what you do and do not know and have and have not accomplished. Even [in cases] when common [Treasure revealers] do not have complete certainty, it will definitely benefit the transmission of the doctrine as well oneself and everyone else [to cease composing such writings].

After finishing writing these pointless [false] Treasure teachings, some people speak of the need to spread this [teaching] as much as possible to avoid the disappearance of the family lineage and the lineage of students. However, if they instead could preserve and spread the teachings of the oral lineage, the scriptures, and the pith instructions together with the authentic old Treasures then, besides that, I surely cannot see [a need for] any better or higher profound meaning or activity *sādhana*. Since this attachment to the teachings of individual persons makes for an unstable tradition, it would be better to focus on the philosophies contained in the older teachings and adopt the few genuine pure visions and Treasure teachings that may exist as auxiliary ornaments. Intelligent people have to understand what teachings to preserve, but what is there to preserve in all those [new] writings? If they were dispensed with it would not be sad at all! On the other hand, since even a fraction of the *tantras*, scriptures, and oral instructions possesses great purpose they should be preserved. Furthermore, regarding meditation, [480] Klong chen rab 'byams taught the key points of the meaning embodied in the *tantras*, scriptures, and

oral instructions of the Great Perfection, and you are not going to find some other profound and excellent truth or any other system of key points for practice besides that.

Take a look around to see [for yourself] if there is anything new to understand about the Great Perfection that might be superior to this, and then practice accordingly. Many [practitioners] have previously perfected their realization [through this teaching of Klong chen pa], because it contains a factor of blessings and a lineage of practice. So now, do not look for fault in this teaching without looking for faults in yourself. If you [wish to] chant, there are the rituals of the Transmitted Precepts lineage and the instructions and realizations of the Treasures⁹⁰-- in short, scriptures on the *sādhana*s of infinite deities [discovered] by many [Treasure revealers] who appeared in the past with authentic signs such as Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, Guru chos dbang, The Northern Treasure Revealer, Ratna gling pa, and Karma gling pa. In those [texts] you will find any kind of long or short *sādhana* you may desire according to your inclination. There are [also] various activity- and protection rituals that, if practiced properly, contain a lineage of blessing that is actualized as the sign of practice of these early teachings. If you are able, so are the teachings! Now, forget [the idea] that the words and meaning of some *sādhana*s, practice texts, and pointless liturgical scriptures should be more profound than the earlier [texts]. Since they do not even come close, I do not see any particular purpose to chanting them. But if you think it's important, do as you like.

⁹⁰ “Instructions” refers to the cycles such as *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* and “realizations” refers to cycles such as *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*.

If someone practices the earlier [Treasures] but no result occurs, one will not think that it is [the fault of] the teaching. However, if one does not know whether the new [Treasures] bring benefit, [481] one will give rise to doubt and fabricate wrong views. But what is the need for that? If someone feels trust [in the new Treasures], I cannot see anything really wrong with reciting a new text, but although they are similar to the liturgical arrangements of [past] masters, to only delight in the recitation of new [material] is a clear sign of ignorance. When composing [a text], even a dry intellectual like myself will know how to write high words in a meaning that agrees with the scriptures and is supported by many esoteric instructions, but presenting these [texts] as Treasure teachings becomes the work of a charlatan and [incurs] the terrible karma of arrogantly lying to the deities and spiritual masters. If [on the other hand, the same text] were presented as a treatise, it would be free from deceit and could benefit [people's] confidence. What then, could be in discord with the scriptures of the learned and accomplished [masters of the past]? If a Treasure really has an authentic source then there is nothing to object to, but if it does not, it is a terrible karma [to claim otherwise]. Even if [the teaching] is not [initiated] by yourself but is requested by someone else so that you feel powerless [but to compose a teaching], you should examine for yourself what is wholesome and what is negative. Unless you can do that it might be better to refer the obligation to write to someone else.

The people who these days call themselves Treasure revealers

Say that they are benefiting Tibet and the world.

[But] they are driven by their own concerns and should they achieve

Long life and happiness, fine; but even that will hardly happen.

In this Snowy Land there are many who mostly look

At the Treasure revealers and their Treasures with distrust and wrong view.

Do not protect those [people] -- what's the use?

Especially protecting the faithful ones [482] is a true sign of compassion.

But when things decline for those without trust,

And [likewise] things do not improve for the faithful,

And we can see how most people end up worse,

How can you not feel doubt and wonder?

It is good if one is accepted by the great [master] from Oḍḍiyāna,

And creates blessings for experience and realization,

Or longevity, growth of the dharma, and spread of the teaching.

But what is the use of merely presenting something to chant?

The earlier [Treasures] are texts of great blessing that can be trusted,

And I have not seen a single newly revealed [text] that was more profound.

If you rely on new teachings believing them to be more profound,

Should you reach accomplishment, fine, but it is rare.

If you carefully examine those who announce Treasure teachings,

[You will see that] because of seeking fame, looking for wealth, and searching for women,

They place hope in their [false] Treasures and their expectations burn like fire.

How rare to [find Treasure revealers] free from lies and deceit!

If they truly are the destined ones of Padma's blessing,

They should surely be superior to others,

Like beholding the Buddha and his close disciples,

But when examined, their wisdom, love, and capacity are just like anyone else's.

Whether they spread happiness and joy in the Snowy Land is doubtful,

But with their Treasure prophecies praising themselves,

They commit a root bodhisattva downfall of aggrandizing themselves and belittling others,

And carry out many perverted actions.

Alas! Since genuine practitioners are rare in these sad times,

The decay of sentient beings is rampant.

So it [seems] untimely that so many *nirmāṇakāya* Treasure revealers

Conceitedly consider themselves superior to other practitioners.

[483] If the splendor of the teaching and sentient beings were to expand

Because of so many excellent [masters],

It would be logical that the splendor and wealth of the teaching in general and the Ancient School in particular would increase,

So why do things decline for the followers of those [beings]?

*Ha, Ha!*⁹¹ If the Treasure revealer has not really received the Treasure teaching from the Guru or perceived it by clairvoyance and [instead] the words are discovered from dualistic mind and if, [furthermore,] that person is not a great and authentic spiritual teacher, then it will be hard to feel confidence simply by [hearing] him say, “this is my Treasure teaching” and then [showing] some nice writings or sculptures from a cave. If, [however], he could reveal authentic *tantras* such as *The Kālacakra Root Tantra* or *The Five Hundred Thousand Hevajra Tantras* that no longer exist in Tibet; [texts] that truly possess important knowledge such as *The Eight Examinations*; previously non-existent wonderful textbooks that benefit crucial aspects of science such as the remaining calculations of philosophical astrology; scriptures that liberate those who do not know the important points of the *tantra* and *sūtra* sections; or precise and undecieving prophecies that [foretell] the changing times and so on -- in short, a text of important knowledge that agrees with the *sūtras* and *tantras* and gives rise to joy in intelligent people, then that would be a truth to preserve. And furthermore, if [the Treasure revealer] could reveal a Buddhist scripture such as *The Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition* or a non-Buddhist text [484] that temporarily could be useful, such as a treatise on art, then that would be very wonderful and something to preserve. Could he reveal the remaining chapters of the *Ratnakūṭa* or a similar [text] such as, for example, all the remaining parts of *The Sūtra on the Application of Mindfulness*, that would also be wonderful. Also, if he received a prophecy from the *ḍākinīs* and based on that could reveal a Tibetan treatise that previously existed in several [copies] but now has disappeared such as Bsnyub chen sangs rgyas ye shes’s *Sūtra Commentary*, then that would also be nice. But as the saying goes,

⁹¹ “Ha ha” here carries a connotation of both sadness and surprise.

“except for dead dogs, anything is revealed as Treasure”, so no useful teachings whatsoever appear and it is pointless. If a medicine that would heal sickness by mere smell or an amazing medical scripture could be discovered as Treasure, or even [if such a] text were received by hand, that would be something by which a worthy being could benefit others. So that is for which the Treasure revealers should supplicate Padmasambhava. While it is hard for wishfulfilling jewels to appear in degenerate times, if all kinds of wonderful jewels that could help sentient beings, astonishing to whoever would see them, should appear it would be good for both oneself and everyone else, so please keep that in mind.

If [a teaching] can be determined as a profound teaching of Padma’s blessing,

Surely it makes sense to practice it continuously and attain accomplishment.

[485] [But] have you not seen how some people, for the sake of wealth,

Always roam about spreading their teaching by selling it to others?

Why do you talk about the superiority of [your] teaching?

If you gain accomplishment you will not have to sell your teaching to others.

People desiring [instruction] will come to you!

Nevertheless, what have you achieved by the dharma?

Having written letters, you search out the famous and rich wherever they are,

And tell them “You are the sovereign of my teaching.”

You are distracted by only thinking of fame.

Even if practicing that teaching, what benefit do you see thereby?

When you see a good-looking girl you call her a *ḍākinī*.

Suspicious people who criticize you are called demons.

You consider yourself a perfect reincarnation of the disciples [of Padmasambhava].

You announce a lot but do no good at all.

Without yourself knowing anything whatsoever,

You say, “Here are all the key points of the Buddha’s teaching”,

And “The greatness of the essential teaching is like this.”

You are conceited, saying, “My teaching is superior to all others.”

Although you do not know how to cherish in your heart the general teachings

And the teachings of Padma, King of the Conquerors,

You say, “I am the one who will reverse the degeneration in the Snowy Land.”

When your pretense is exposed, you are worse than commoners.

When it is rare to know correctly what is good and bad for oneself, even in the slightest,

Are not all the “helpful” predictions

Stating what is good and bad for the [entire] Snowy Country

The deceiving lies of gods and demons?

[486] With no sign at all of thorough training

In the attitude of trusting the teachings and helping others,

You say, “I have emanated to protect the Snowy Land with compassion.”

When intelligent people see you they break into laughter.

Not having the power to stir the minds of young women,

you proclaim lustful, deceiving prophecies out of desire.

Not having the slightest capacity of being trustworthy,

How could you protect a kingdom?

The conceited charlatans who fool others saying,

“Whatever I do is the activity of accomplishment”

Produce documents for their Treasures and [thereby] gather the negative karma

Of attributing a false reference to Padma, King of the Conquerors.

There are surely some people who chant various Treasure-like false teachings

Made by the deceit of powerful gods and demons.

There are many who fool themselves by pursuing the rank of an accomplished
master

Not suspecting at all that they are fooled by demons.

If it [truly] is a teaching taught by Padma, King of the Conquerors,

Intelligent people will know that it is a contradiction

To think, “This teaching of mine, is that a Treasure or not?”

And then ask [others for their opinion].

If one does not earnestly practice

One's own teaching with joy,

Then what other intelligent person

Would see any reason to practice it perseveringly?

The fool believes everything [the false Treasure revealer] says.

And when advised, “This is profound. Practice just this!”

[487] He will surely do that.

But for him that is a dharmic poverty.

No one experiences the poverty of lacking texts to chant.

Surely, if the beneficial effect is superior when recited, then great.

But if accomplishments decrease and obstacles increase,

And you experience doubt, then do not practice [such texts]. Why would you?

When looking at the teaching it seems impressive and delightful to chant.

So when persevering diligently with faith why do things get worse?

If you only possess the mark of practice and prayer

You may get doubt and think that all [Treasure teachings] are same.

In short, as the *bon pos* were suppressed at the time they spread,

The same applies to the Treasures founded in *bon*.⁹²

If you should ever feel doubt in this regard,

It is best to resolve your hesitation in the presence of a powerful person.

[Composed] by Mi pham suddenly as it came to mind.

⁹² Thanks to Dan Martin and Per Kvaerne for helpful suggestions for the translation of these two lines. If my reading of this rather obscure passage is correct the persecution of *bon* Treasures mentioned here most likely refers to events during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617 – 1682) during which time *bon* Treasures in 1649 were attacked on the grounds that they were forgeries. (Karmey 1972: XXXI – VX). However, as both Martin and Kvaerne have let me know, the exact meaning of these two lines is hard to determine.

Part II: The New Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa

Introduction

Above, the literary genre of the Treasures and the issue of Treasure authenticity was addressed. With the basic parameters for Treasure literature established this part looks closer at the revelations of a single Treasure revealer, Mchog gyur bde chen zhig po gling pa. There are several reasons for focusing on the revelations of Mchog gyur gling pa. Firstly, the revelations of this master together with the commentarial literature elucidating their intent comprise one of the most extensive collections of Treasure literature. This collection, known as *The New Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa* (*Mchog gling gter gsar*; abbr. *The New Treasures*) comprises in its latest edition thirty nine volumes of Treasure revelations and commentaries including altogether more than one thousand individual titles.⁹³ It is, however, not only its massive volume that makes *The New Treasures* of special interest as this collection includes teachings that previously had only existed in the lineage of the Transmitted Precepts and now were revealed as Treasure for the first time by Mchog gyur gling pa.⁹⁴ Another interesting element of *The New Treasures* is the involvement of Mchog gyur gling pa in the ecumenical (*ris med*) movement that arose in the Eastern Tibetan provinces during the nineteenth century around the figures of ‘Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha’ yas and ‘Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang po. It was in large part due to the close relationship between Mchog gyur gling pa and these two extraordinary masters that *The New Treasures* became one of the most widespread and popular Treasure traditions in Tibet. Considering

⁹³ Mchog gyur 1982a. See also Doctor 2002.

⁹⁴ Most prominently, Mchog gyur gling pa is the only Treasure revealer to have brought forth revelations on all three sections of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*). See further below.

its importance for understanding nineteenth century Tibetan Buddhist philosophy it is surprising that the ecumenical tradition so far has received only little scholarly attention.⁹⁵ Given the active involvement of Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse in *The New Treasures* a detailed study of this collection will no doubt facilitate a better understanding of the ecumenical movement as well. And yet, it is precisely all the features of *The New Treasures* that make it so valuable -- its size, variety and complexity -- that present the greatest challenge to the researcher attempting to engage with this collection that up to now has remained almost unnoticed by Western research.⁹⁶ The present study therefore aims to present a general survey of this collection introducing sources for the biographical study of Mchog gyur gling pa and outlining the main features of his revelatory output. It is hoped that such groundwork will create a platform from which future studies of *The New Treasures* may be undertaken. For this purpose we first turn to the sources available for the biographical study of Mchog gyur gling pa.

⁹⁵ The to date most detailed study of the ecumenical tradition is Smith 2001: 227-272. See also Barron 2003.

⁹⁶ To date, studies of Mchog gyur gling pa and his tradition are scarce. Schmidt has translated several shorter practice rituals from *The New Treasures* (for a brief selection see Chokgyur 1990a-c) as well a couple of longer commentaries by lineage masters (e.g. Kongtrul 1999). From the oral tradition Schmidt has translated several speeches of lineage masters discussing Mchog gyur gling pa's tradition (Tobgyal 1988, Urgyen 2000, Chokling 2001). Smith 2002: 235-272 briefly discusses Mchog gyur gling pa. Translations of Bdud 'joms's hagiography of Mchog gyur gling pa are found in Dargyay 1979: 190-197 and Dudjom 1991: 840-848. Recently, I have published an annotated catalogue of *The New Treasures* (Doctor 2002).

An Auspiciously Curling Tune

In *The New Treasures* we are fortunate to find a wealth of information collected and composed by several central figures of the lineage -- including Mchog gyur gling pa himself. In colophons throughout *The New Treasures* Mchog gyur gling pa writes about the nature of his Treasures and the way they were discovered often noting the details of time and place thereby providing valuable information for a chronological reconstruction of his career. Besides the information supplied in colophons Mchog gyur gling pa composed a brief autobiography (predominantly versified), written sometime during 1867 or early 1868, that later was joined with various accounts of Treasure revelation likewise recounted by Mchog gyur gling pa himself. This compilation was included in *The New Treasures* under the title *The Basic Account of the Emanated Great Treasure Revealer's Biography Combined with a Few Treasure Chronicles*.⁹⁷ These writings of Mchog gyur gling pa are of great value for understanding his role within the ecumenical movement. Especially informative in this regard is the part in Mchog gyur gling pa's autobiography where he expounds on the philosophical values of the ecumenical tradition and the role of the Treasure tradition within this movement (Mchog gyur 1982b: 190-198). It is generally well known that Mchog gyur gling pa was a prominent figure within the ecumenical tradition (Smith 2001: 227-272) but little is known about his specific views on ecumenicalism. In this chapter, however, we find Mchog gyur gling pa encouraging spiritual practitioners to abandon one-sided critique of other traditions and instead appreciate the commonalities between the many Tibetan religious traditions while,

⁹⁷ *Sprul pa'i gter ston chen mo'i rnam thar gyi sa bon zhal gsung ma dang gter 'byung 'ga' zhig 'bel gnam sna tshogs bcas* (Mchog gyur 1982b).

concomitantly, remaining respectful to their individual unique features. Specifically, in relation to the Treasure tradition, Mchog gyur gling pa admonishes the followers of the Ancient School to abandon attachment to the revelations of individual revealers and, in its place, focus on the relationship between all Treasures and the general Buddhist tradition thus acknowledging that the philosophical roots of the Treasures are firmly planted in the general teachings of *sūtra* and *tantra*.⁹⁸

Besides Mchog gyur gling pa's own writings *The New Treasures* contain several early sources composed by his foremost teachers, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po. The importance of these sources is reflected in the fact that they form the basis for the entirety of subsequent hagiographical works on Mchog gyur gling pa. Most central is a short praise to the career of Mchog gyur gling pa composed by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul under the title *The Auspiciously Curling Tune: A Supplication to the Life of the Emanated Great Treasure Revealer Mchog gyur gling pa*.⁹⁹ In this work Kong sprul outlines the most significant events in Mchog gyur gling pa's life listing his most prominent teachers, students, Treasures, and visions. The supplication is augmented with numerous annotations (*mchan 'grel*) in which Kong sprul provides a commentary on the events of the supplication. In the colophon Kong sprul notes that he composed the supplication at the request of Mchog gyur gling pa's consort Bde chen chos sgron and several other devoted students ('Jam mgon 1982a: 9.3-4). As with so many works in *The New Treasures* the text is undated but most likely it was composed soon after the death of

⁹⁸ Cf. Mi pham's similar remarks above.

⁹⁹ *Sprul pa'i gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i rnam thar gsol 'debs bkra shis 'khyil pa'i dbyangs snyan* ('Jam mgon 1982a).

Mchog gyur gling pa.¹⁰⁰ Later, at the request of Mchog gyur gling pa's famed scholar student Karma'i mkhan po rin chen dar rgyas (nineteenth century), Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po composed an outline (*sa bcad*) of this praise which he named *The Divisions of The Auspiciously [Curling] Tune: The Condensed Meaning of the Supplication to the Great Treasure Revealer Mchog gyur gling pa*.¹⁰¹

On the past lives of Mchog gyur gling pa, Zla bzang karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas (1808-1864), one of Mchog gyur gling pa's foremost teachers, composed a supplication to the past existences that Mchog gyur gling pa previously had occupied. This work, entitled *The Rosary of Red Pearls : a Supplication to the Past Lives of the Vidyādhara Master -- the Great Treasure Revealer Mchog gyur gling pa*,¹⁰² was composed while Mchog gyur gling pa was still alive. It presents the details of his past lives predominantly based on information found in Treasure literature but also, to a lesser degree, on information accessed through meditative visions. As an elaboration on this supplication, Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po composed a slightly longer text; *The Lapis Lazuli Drama: General Notes on the Past Lives Supplication Called the Rosary of Red Pearls*.¹⁰³ The main source for both works (and other subsequent descriptions of Mchog

¹⁰⁰ This can be assumed since the framework employed by Kong sprul forms the basis for all other hagiographical works on Mchog gyur gling pa.

¹⁰¹ *Gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i rnam thar gsol 'debs kyi bsdus don bkra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag* ('Jam dbyangs 1982a). This outline was later adopted to structure the longer hagiography by Dkon mchog 'gyur med (circa 1870-circa 1930) (Dkon mchog 1982).

¹⁰² *Rje rig pa 'dzin pa gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i skyes rabs kyi gsol 'debs mu tig dmar po'i phreng ba* (Zla bzang 1982a).

¹⁰³ *Skyes rabs gsol 'debs mu tig dmar po'i phreng ba'i zin thun vaidūrya'i mdo 'dzin* ('Jam dbyangs 1982b).

gyur gling pa's past lives) is a Treasure text revealed by the master Zhig po gling pa gar gyi dbang phyug (1524-1583) named *The Radiant Lamp* (*Gsal ba'i sgron me*) that recounts in great detail Zhig po gling pa's past lives.¹⁰⁴ The reason that the account of Zhig po gling pa's past lives are relevant for Mchog gyur gling pa is that Zhig po gling pa came to be regarded as one of Mchog gyur gling pa's previous incarnations whereby *The Radiant Lamp* became an account of Mchog gyur gling pa's past lives as well.¹⁰⁵ Mkhyen brtse's work, which consists almost entirely of a lengthy quotation from *The Radiant Lamp*, establishes the authority of this prophesized account by categorizing the past lives experienced in meditative visions as merely appendage (*kha skong*) to the revealed descriptions ('Jam dbyangs 1982b: 64.4). Below (p.101) the past lives of Mchog gyur gling pa as they are recounted in these two sources will be presented.

Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po composed yet another biographical text entitled *The Breeze of Requesting The Auspiciously [Curling] Tune: Replies to Questions Arising from the Hagiography of the Great Treasure Revealer*,¹⁰⁶ which is a series of answers to questions posed by Mchog gyur gling pa's students on the life of their master. This text forms the basis for the subsequent hagiographies of Mchog gyur gling pa by both Kong

¹⁰⁴ This text is extensively quoted throughout *The New Treasures*. The entire relevant passage is quoted twice in the collection (Unknown 1982: 341.1-352.2; 'Jam dbyangs 1982a: 65.1-78.4).

¹⁰⁵ The connection between Mchog gyur gling pa and Zhig po gling pa is made by 'Jam ngon kong sprul who states that the rebirths of Mu rub btsan po, the middle son of King Khrid srong lde'u btsan, included the following masters: Sangs rgyas gling pa, Lha btsun sngon mo, Zhig po gling pa, and Mchog gyur gling pa ('Jam ngon 1976, vol. 1: 324.1).

¹⁰⁶ *Gter chen rnam thar las 'phros pa'i dris lan bkra shis dbyangs snyan bskul ba'i dri bzhon* ('Jam dbyangs 1982c).

sprul ('Jam mgon 1976b: 643-658) and Bdud 'joms (Dudjom 1991: 840-848) where longer passages often are quoted verbatim. Mkhyen brtse presents events central to Mchog gyur gling pa's life and revelatory career in a structured manner that gives an excellent overview of Mchog gyur gling pa's main teachers,¹⁰⁷ the divisions of his Treasures,¹⁰⁸ his sevenfold transmission of teaching (covered below), and the major group practice sessions (*sgrub chen*) that Mchog gyur gling pa officiated in ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 38.2-49.1).

Besides the works of famed authors like Mkhyen brtse, Kong sprul, and Zla bzang we find another important source of information in the so-called "general hagiography" (*phyi'i rnam thar*) of Mchog gyur gling pa entitled *The Melodious Tune of the Fifth Auspicious Birth: A General Outer Biography of the Great Treasure Revealer Mchog*

¹⁰⁷ According to this text (and several other sources in *The New Treasures*), Mchog gyur gling pa's four primary teachers were: Stag lung ma rin po che who granted the refuge vows, Zla bzang karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas who conferred the bodhisattva vows, 'Jam mgon kong sprul who initiated Mchog gyur gling pa into the vehicle of secret *mantra*, and Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po who introduced him to the nature of mind ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 20.3-22.2).

¹⁰⁸ Primarily, Mkhyen brtse presents a list of the earth Treasures revealed by Mchog gyur gling pa. Other divisions mention three divisions of guru practice in *The New Treasures* in which, according to Mkhyen brtse, the guru practice of *dharmakāya* is the *Chos sku'i don khrid chen mo* (Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a vol. 23: 391-412), the *sambhogakāya* practice is the *Tshe dpag med rigs lnga sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (vol. 14: 313-391), and the *nirmāṇakāya* practice is contained in the various *sādhana*s of Padmasambhava. This last grouping is in turn divided into four divisions: outer -- *Bar chad kun sel*, inner -- *Bsam pa lhun grub*, secret -- *Mtsho skyes rdo rje* (this cycle is not included in *The New Treasures* since it is counted as a Treasure of Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po), most secret -- *Rdo rje drag rtsal*, and combined -- *Bla ma dngos grub rgya mtsho* and *Thugs sgrub dgongs pa kun 'dus* ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 25).

*gyur gling pa*¹⁰⁹ composed by Padma ye shes (nineteenth/twentieth century) -- a student of Mchog gyur gling pa and an important chant master (*dbu mdzad*) within his tradition. This hagiography, written at the request of the first Mchog gling reincarnation in the Gnas brtan lineage -- Padma 'gyur med theg mchog bstan 'phel (1873-1927), builds on the themes raised by Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse but also gathers information from several smaller manuscripts of *The New Treasures*. In addition to this formal hagiography, Padma ye shes also composed a lengthy description of Mchog gyur gling pa's journey to central Tibet at the end of his life (Padma ye shes 1982b). Elsewhere in *The New Treasures* we find a brief account by an anonymous author describing Mchog gyur gling pa's revelation of the *Zab pa skor bdun* Treasure cycles (Unknown 1982).

The richest source for information on Mchog gyur gling pa is surely the six hundred page hagiography entitled *A Clarification of the Branches of the Auspiciously [Curling] Tune: the Life of the Great Treasure Revealer Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa*¹¹⁰ composed by the first Mchog gling reincarnation in the Ke la lineage, Dkon mchog 'gyur med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (?-1938?). This text offers a wealth of information regarding, not only the outer events in Mchog gyur gling pa's life, but also his inner experiences and meditative realizations. It was composed in 1921 and draws heavily on the abovementioned works but also incorporates new sources in the form of various unpublished notes and manuscripts. Curiously, the works of Padma ye shes are not

¹⁰⁹ *Gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i thun mong phyi yi rnam thar bkra shis skye ba lnga pa'i dbyangs snyen* (Padma ye shes 1982a).

¹¹⁰ *Gter chen mchog gyur bde chen gling pa'i rnam thar bkra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed* (Dkon mchog 1982, abbr. *The Life*).

mentioned in *The Life* and it seems possible that Dkon mchog gyur med might have been unaware of these texts.¹¹¹ Faithful to the tradition Dkon mchog ‘gyur med’s biography is structured along the framework previously established by Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul. The Tibetan hagiographical genre is unique in that it does not limit itself to a single life but recounts the saint’s existence within a story involving past, present, as well as future lives. Not only does Dkon mchog ‘gyur med provide descriptions of Mchog gyur gling pa’s past, present and future lives -- he also presents his reader with several biographical sub-genres that lend further uniqueness to the hagiographical literature of Tibet. The main body of the text is structured into 1) a brief teaching on the definitive and the expedient hagiographies (*drang nges kyi rnam thar gyis mdor bstan*) (Dkon mchog 1982: 8.1), 2) expanded explanation by means of ten amazing accounts (*ngo mtshar ba’i gtam bcus rgyas par bshad*) (11.4), and 3) a conclusion with supplications and aspirations (*gsol ‘debs smon lam don bsdu ba*) (621.2). At this level some of the various modes of hagiography are introduced when mention is made of “the definitive and the expedient hagiographies.” What this refers to are two distinct manners of recounting the life of a Buddhist saint – 1) the ultimate and essential hagiography (*nges don snying po’i rnam thar*) (8.2) and 2) the symbolic, enumerated hagiography (*drang don brda yi rnam thar*) (10.2). The first of these divisions is a brief philosophical chapter that presents Mchog gyur gling pa as primordially inseparable from the basic nature of all phenomena. In spite

¹¹¹ Another possibility would be that Padma ye shes’s hagiography was not yet composed by the time Dkon mchog gyur med wrote his biography. Padma ye shes’s work is undated and since I have not yet been able to determine his exact dates it is difficult to say definitively what relationship, or lack thereof, exists between these two works.

of this being a condensed hagiographical exposition this chapter is billed as the essential and true way to appreciate the actual being of Mchog gyur gling pa:

“In reality, his nature -- all-pervading like the sky -- is primordially the supremely luminous *dharmakāya* of great bliss, the indivisibility of ground and fruition.”¹¹²

The fact that this brief chapter is termed “ultimate” and “essential” even though it barely covers two full pages supports the position that underneath the detailed historical narrative of the Treasure cosmos lies a reality of timelessness (*dharmakāya*), which gives historical events a relative quality and frees them from the confines of a strictly linear historical consciousness. Thus, similar to the historical narratives of Treasure revelation that rely on the backdrop of timeless reality, the acts of a Buddhist saint, such as Mchog gyur gling pa, is likewise to be viewed with a hermeneutic that acknowledges his or her existence in the world as reflections of this “ultimate and essential” way of being.

The following explanation of the symbolic enumerated hagiography is a brief one-page listing of the topic for the main part of the text, namely Mchog gyur gling pa’s achievements as perceived from the framework of relative existence. At this point *The Life* enters into a more formal historical narrative structured on a three-fold division of Mchog gyur gling pa’s past existences, present life, and his activity in future lives for the continuous benefit of sentient beings. The chapter devoted to Mchog gyur gling pa’s past lives consists of two divisions: a general explication of the hagiography of the three *kāyas*

¹¹² “Nges pa’i don du gzod nas kun khyab nam mkha’ lta bu’i rang bzhin bde ba chen po gzhi ’bras dbyer med ’od gsal lhag pa’i chos kyi skur bzhugs pa yin” (Dkon mchog 1982: 8.3).

(*sku gsum gyi rnam thar spyir bstan pa* 11.5) and a particular division of the way Mchog gyur gling pa appeared in this world (*ljongs 'dir sprul pa'i snang tshul khyad par du dbye ba* 18.3). The first of these categories further highlights the importance of approaching the Tibetan hagiographical genre with sensitivity to the Mahāyānist metaphysical conception of *rūpakāya* emanations emerging from the underlying *dharmakāya* matrix. Here Dkon mchog 'gyur med describes the manner in which buddhas and bodhisattvas take birth in the world without ever moving from the reality of *dharmakāya* and how they engage in the benevolent actions of converting sentient beings through the activities of “the fourfold taming” (*'dul ba bzhi*) of body, speech, mind, and miracles. Having reminded the reader of Mchog gyur gling pa's inherent affiliation with the basic nature of existence itself, Dkon mchog 'gyur med has prepared the ground for the ensuing detailed discussion of the events in Mchog gyur gling pa's “garland of lives” -- the numerous preambulatory existences preceding Mchog gyur gling pa's feats in nineteenth century East Tibet. Below, we shall return to a closer look at these past lives of his.

In spite of the various hagiographical sub-categories presented up to this point the main part of Dkon mchog 'gyur med's work is after all devoted primarily to the life and career of Mchog gyur gling pa. In presenting his life Dkon mchog 'gyur med follows Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po's ten chapter outline that describes 1) Mchog gyur gling pa's youth (31.3), 2) the awakening of his karmic potential (48.4), 3) his teachers (51.5), 4) spiritual development (85.5), 5) meditative realization (91.5), 6) visionary experiences (100.6), 7) Treasure discoveries (175.4), 8) students (423.4), 9) the way Mchog gyur gling pa sanctified his environment (490.5), and, finally, 10) his passing into nirvāṇa (583.2). Since Dkon mchog gyur med, like Padma ye shes, bases his presentation on the

early hagiographical sources there is a great deal of duplication found in his hagiography but, as his narrative is otherwise richly adorned with quotations from both Treasure texts and classical philosophical scriptures, the repetitiveness is not as tedious as one could expect. Dkon mchog gyur med does also incorporate several oral accounts into his narrative but, considering the vulnerability of the oral tradition in the turbulent social upheavals of the twentieth century, an even greater number of such reports is missed. As Dkon mchog gyur med, in chapters six to nine, begins to unravel anecdotes of Mchog gyur gling pa's visionary life and the many extraordinary events connected thereto we obtain a valuable look into the Treasure tradition. In these chapters we not only receive a tour into the fascinating world of Treasure discovery with its rich symbolic language and ritual but also encounter the main protagonists in the ecumenical tradition as they relate to Mchog gyur gling pa's revelations. Previously, the main figures of the ecumenical tradition such as Mkhyen brtse, Kong sprul, and Mchog gling have been studied only little, but here valuable data on their work and relationship is presented.¹¹³ Finally, having covered the main events of Mchog gyur gling pa's life, the author completes his work

¹¹³ The richness of these stories requires a detailed study beyond the present work. In the future these chapters will surely come to prove a valuable source for a better understanding of the ecumenical tradition. Although Dkon mchog 'gyur med's writing does contain a limited number of oral accounts it was apparently criticized at the time of its publication for drawing too heavily on the early written sources at the expense of the oral tradition. According to Erik Schmidt, Tulku Urgyen, a late lineage holder in the tradition of Mchog gyur gling pa, spoke of his uncle Bsam gtan rgya mtsho (also an important lineage holder; see Tobgyal 1988: 39-40) criticizing Dkon mchog 'gyur med for not having included the oral accounts of Mchog gyur gling pa's daughter Dkon mchog dpal sgron into his writings (Oral communication, Boudhanath, February, 2003).

with a brief description of Mchog gyur gling pa's future lives (silent to the fact that he himself was one of them!) (606.4).

Apart from the hagiographical material of *The New Treasures*, Kong sprul included a hagiography of Mchog gyur gling pa in *The Rosary* ('Jam mgon 1976b: 643-658). This in turn formed the basis for Bdud 'joms's chapter on Mchog gyur gling pa in his history of the Ancient School, which is mostly a verbatim copy of Kong sprul's writing (Bdud 'joms 1996: 515-524). Furthermore, it is said that a biography of Mchog gyur gling pa, longer and more detailed than Dkon mchog 'gyur med's, was written by Mchog gling's student Karma'i mkhan po rin chen dar rgyas (nineteenth cent.) but it is uncertain whether this work still exists.¹¹⁴ Since the wealth of information contained in these abovementioned sources is challenging to work with in its unprocessed form in the following the focus will be on creating an outer framework of basal information that can provide a basis for future studies to engage in more interpretive analysis of Mchog gyur gling pa and his career. As an important aspect of the Tibetan hagiographical genre is concerned with, not only a present singular existence, but also the existences of the past and future, we shall begin our study by looking closer at the many lives leading up to the birth of our Treasure revealing protagonist.

¹¹⁴ Orgyen Tobgyal. Oral communication, Boudha, January 2003.

A Garland of Lives

The past lives of Mchog gyur gling pa are recounted on the basis of *The Radiant Lamp*, a revelation by Zhig po gling pa as testimony to his own previous lives. As this scripture is a Treasure revelation these past existences are not presented as a narration by Zhig po gling pa himself but instead by Padmasambhava back in the eighth century as a prophesy of what is yet to come. In Tibet, it was standard practice that Treasure revealers discover this kind of *ex post facto* prophecy in which Padmasambhava foretells, as Ratna gling pa puts it “even the moles and physical marks on their body” (*lus kyi sme ba dang sha mtshan ‘di lta bu ‘byung rtsam yang gzigs*) (Ratna gling pa 1977: 232.3) although, not surprisingly, this was a type of writing looked upon with suspicion by many, even among the followers of the Ancient School (cf. Mi pham’s earlier comments).¹¹⁵ In any case, Zhig po gling pa’s revelation lists his many past lives in India, China, Tibet, and elsewhere his karma and aspirations are said to have taken him. Since Mchog gyur gling pa is considered the reincarnation of Zhig po gling pa this text is extensively quoted throughout the biographical texts of *The New Treasures* where it becomes the primary source for retelling the lives of Mchog gyur gling pa.¹¹⁶ Here we are told how he (Zhig po

¹¹⁵ Still, not all prophetic Treasure literature is concerned with events already transpired. There is an equal amount of prophecies describing people and events yet to come. This type of prophecy, such as those found in *Chronicle of Padmasambhava* (U rgyan gling pa 1996), is often appropriated by subsequent revealers to support the value of their revelations.

¹¹⁶ For the connection between Zhig po gling pa and Mchog gyur gling pa see note 105. This connection is also made clear in many references found in *The New Treasures* where Padmasambhava declares Mu rub btsan po and Sangs rgyas gling pa as the past incarnations of Mchog gyur gling pa (such as for example in the *Padma gtsugs gtor* Treasure text (Mchog gyur gling pa 1982c: 255). Furthermore, in a prophecy by

gling pa / Mchog gyur gling pa), in a distant past, first connected with the dharma in general and, especially, with the all-important figures for the Treasure lineage: Padmasambhava and his royal disciple Khri strong lde'u btsan. *The Radiant Lamp* begins in the early days of this aeon with the story of Padmasambhava, Khri strong lde'u btsan, and Śāntarakṣita (in their former lives) building the *stūpa* called The Mistakenly Granted Permission (bya rung kha shor).¹¹⁷ Here we are told that Khri strong lde'u btsan saw a black bird landing on the *stūpa* and made a wish that, in the future it would become his son. Thus was the original karmic connection established between Mchog gyur gling pa and the Buddhist dharma ('Jam dbyangs 1982b: 65.1). The seed having been planted in the mind stream of the Treasure revealer-to-be he embarked on a series of rebirths predominantly unfolding in India and Tibet. As the fortunate black bird passed away it was, according to *The Radiant Lamp*, born in Bodhgaya as Kīrti Jñāna, son of the *sthavira* Dharmabhadra. At that time he jokingly offered flowers to a representation of a buddha thereby sowing the seed for liberation (66.4). This act in turn led to rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven as the divine son Stainless Renown (Dris med grags pa) (67.1). Thereafter he became an *arhat* named Unimpeded (Ma 'gags pa) in the presence of the Buddha but, although he had perceived the truth of *dharmatā*, he still wished, we are told, to enter the resultant vehicle ('bras bu'i theg pa) and so he continued in existence through such

Sangs rgyas gling pa (quoted in Padma ye shes 1982a: 92.5) it is stated that Sangs rgyas gling pa (in a future life) will be born in the region of Khams, in an ox year, as a Treasure revealer by the name of Mchog gyur. Subsequent tradition understands this to be the life of Mchog gyur gling pa and so the link is made to Zhig po gling pa who, according to his own prophetic scripture, is a reincarnation of Sangs rgyas gling pa.

¹¹⁷ Traditionally identified as the *stūpa* of Boudhanath in Kathmandu, Nepal (Dowman 1973). Klong chen pa, however, locates the *stūpa* in India in the Magadha kingdom (Klong chen pa 1992b: 54.4-56.1).

varied rebirths as the benefactor Bhadra from Maguta, a Brahmin temple keeper, a deer living in a forest grove, a poor girl from the Indian city of Śāntika, a wealthy and generous businessman from Kuśīnagarī called Ākshepaṇabhadrā* ('Phen bzang), a buffalo in the city of *spos ldan* whose milk was offered to the arhats, the generous householder Sujātabhadra in the city of Bhedar, a child of Ākshepaṇa from the city of Spos ngad ldan, a Chinese scholar known as Excellent Impetus ('Phen bzang), a businessman from Bhoṭa who made offerings to the local King at Vaiśālī, an unnamed translator from the district of Gu ge, a Nepalese scholar from the kingdom of Pātan, the son of a wealthy family from Tsha ba dmar shod, a benefactor called Bzang po from Lcang ra smug po, and a Chinese court chaplain by the name of Virtuous (Dge bar ldan) (67.1-68.5). Subsequent to these many lives the future Mchog gyur gling pa underwent many other existences in different countries and realms until, finally, his obscurations were purified in a life as a prince from Bedar known as Limitless Light ('Od zer mtha' yas) (69.2). After this point the subsequent reincarnations are said to be conscious and voluntary. It is also at this time that the Mchog gyur gling pa-to-be enters the Tibetan religious scene as well-known historical personae such as the famed minister Mgar ba at the court of Srong btsan sgam po (69.5). Then follows an existence as a prince 'Gro ba bzang po of En rtse (70.1) before we arrive at the all-important birth as Mu rub btsan po, the second son of King Khri strong lde'u btsan. In describing this birth the text shifts to present tense as Padmasambhava (who, in the Treasure text, is recounting the lives of Mchog gyur gling pa) now speaks in person to his Tibetan disciples. Padmasambhava lists the various names given to Mu rub btsan po¹¹⁸ and tells of the karmic bond between

¹¹⁸ These are: Mu rub btsan po, Lha sras dam 'dzin grags, Spur bo bya thul mgo, Lha sras dge mgon dkar,

this prince and his wife ‘Bum lcām who, upon death, according to Padmasambhava’s prophecy, will be united in the pure buddha fields (69.1-70.4). For the followers of Mchog gyur gling pa the life as Mu rub btsan po is of central importance as it is during that emanation that he comes into contact with Padmasambhava and becomes empowered and prophesized as a major Treasure revealer. At this point Padmasambhava changes the narrative to the future tense as he begins to prophesize the future lives of Mu rub btsan po. As this prince passes away, we are told, he will be born as a king in the country of O rgyan zangs gling (pure land?) from where he will be able to continuously send out emanations working for the welfare of all beings such as Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje (ninth century), the well-known master who assassinated the anti-Buddhist king Glang dar ma (reigned 841-846) (71.4-5). Then Padmasambhava briefly describes a series of births as a certain Jñāna from the Zur clan who clarifies the intent of the *tantras*; then the monk Lha btsun dad pa chan from Pu rang; a hidden yogi from Mang yul called Zhig po’i spyod skyong; a non-monastic temple keeper from Rin chen brag named Dpal btsun; a *mantrin* from Ka rag phug pa by the name of Siṃha Phāla; a female Treasure revealer called Rgyal mo rtse who reveals Treasures from a site west of Bsam yas; a madman (*smnyon pa*) living under a bridge at Rta nag; a *mantrin* named Śākya ye shes from Bzad; a person named Bstan ‘dzin skyes bu gzhon nu from Mnyal; a yogi called Sngags ‘chang ‘phag pa from G.yor po gra; Gnas brtan bstan pa ‘dzin from Gra mda’; a temple keeper from Bsam yas called Grags pa; Sngags ‘chang rdo rje -- a temple keeper of the Ra sa temple who in secret will liberate the enemies of the dharma; a spiritual teacher named Dam pa dkon mchog from Tsā ri; a spiritual teacher called Zhi ba from the Mon region; a *mantrin* who

will rebuild the Mdung chu temple in Po bo; and a spiritual teacher known as Grub thob who will live at that very same temple (72.2-74.5). Then follows another existence as a Treasure revealer (this time also a woman) -- the master Lha btsun sngon mo (eleventh century) from Bsam yas (74.5).¹¹⁹ Next we are told of his existences as the spiritual teacher called the Avalokiteśvara Yogi who constructs a temple in Rin dpung, the yogi Zhig po rgyal ba from Tsā ri and, Mchog gyur gling pa's last life as an animal, a monkey who tames the demonic spirits to the north of Bsam yas (75.2-76.2). Then follows a description of the life of the great Treasure revealer Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1396) known for his revelation of the influential *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* Treasure cycle. Having prophesized the life of Sangs rgyas gling pa in quite some detail mentioning his birthplace, looks, name etc. Padmasambhava continues with a prediction of Mu rub btsan po's subsequent births as the female Treasure revealer 'Bum mo lcam from Mnyang in upper Gtsang¹²⁰ and an unnamed minister, likewise from the Gtsang region and, finally, the life as Zhig po gling pa whose virtues are extolled in considerable detail (77.2-78.3). As *The Lamp* is a revelation of Zhig po gling pa the account goes no further and it is somewhat surprising that nowhere in the literature of *The New Treasures* do we find an attempt to mention the interim existences that presumably would have followed from the time of Zhig po gling pa up until his rebirth as Mchog gyur gling pa, which leaves an unaccounted period of roughly two hundred and fifty years. After Mchog gyur gling pa passes away in 1870 the chain of lives continues, however, as we are told that Mkhyen

¹¹⁹ Her biography is found in 'Jam mgon 1976b: 409-410.

¹²⁰ Perhaps this is the female Treasure revealer Kun dga' 'bum (thirteenth century). In her hagiography it is mentioned that Mchog gyur gling pa later remembered his past existence as Kun dga' 'bum and was able to revive the transmission of her revelations ('Jam mgon 1976b: 517.6).

brtse'i dbang po saw in a vision that Mchog gyur gling pa had manifested a pure land named The Lotus Covered Realm (Padmas khebs pa'i zhing) where he, as the bodhisattva Lotus Sprout (Padma'i myu gu), continuously manifests emanations for the benefit of beings ('Jam mgon 1982a: 148). Having in this way established Mchog gyur gling pa's genealogy of past lives as his tradition recounts them we may now look closer at the main events of his life; in particular his many religious revelations that secured him such fame and influence with many of the greatest religious figures of nineteenth century Tibet.

Seven Descents

Mchog gyur gling pa was born on August 10, 1829¹²¹ at the practice center of Sgom sde grwa nang in Yer stod¹²² in the southern part of the Eastern Tibetan region of Mdo khams. His father, whose family had strong ties to the local Nang chen aristocracy, was the tantric adept Padma dbang phyug who possessed, so we are told, perfect qualities of power and capacity. His mother, Tshe ring g.yang mtsho, was also a virtuous being

¹²¹ The tenth day of the sixth month (*chu stod zla ba*) in the Earth Female Ox year ('Jam mgon 1976b: 644.2). This is the most common date given in the biographical sources but Kong sprul provides a different date in his praise of the life of Mchog gyur gling pa where it is mentioned that Mchog gyur gling pa was born on the eleventh month (*mgo zla ba*) of the Earth Female Ox year ('Jam mgon 1982a: 3.4). Although most sources subscribe to the former date this latter date is nevertheless noteworthy as it appears to be the earliest available. However, given the proliferation of works placing the birth of Mchog gyur gling pa in the sixth month by contemporary authors (including Kong sprul) -- the sixth months seems, after all, the most probable date.

¹²² 'Jam mgon 1976b: 644.1 has incorrectly *Yor stod*.

who had unchanging faith in the Three Jewels and was known for her generosity of giving away her possessions to the needy (Dkon mchog 1982: 38.1-4). According to the various hagiographies, Mchog gyur gling pa was born without any pain to his mother and amidst wonderful signs such as rainbow lights and a rain of flowers.¹²³ In spite of these unusual signs as well as the existence of a prophetic scripture, discovered by the Treasure revealer Dri med gling pa (eighteenth century), foretelling the birth of a great Treasure revealer in the Yer stod area named Ratna o rgyan the child apparently was not recognized as a special being and his childhood years were spent in anonymity (Tobgyal 1988: 9).¹²⁴ A defining event in the life of the young Mchog gyur gling pa, or, Nor bu bstan 'dzin as he was known at the time, occurred in the spring of 1841 when he was just eleven years old.¹²⁵ One day, as Mchog gyur gling pa was playing alone in a place called Maṇi kha, he came across an odd-looking *yogin* who was wearing a lotus crown, red

¹²³ Padma ye shes 1982a: 94.5. In the Buddhist tradition these signs commonly accompany the birth of saints.

¹²⁴ The prophecy of Dri med gling pa is quoted in Dkon mchog 1982: 39.1. Dkon mchog 'gyur med establishes the connection between Ratna o rgyan and Mchog gyur gling pa by considering the name given by his parents -- Nor bu bstan 'dzin (*nor bu* in Skt. *ratna*) (43.2). He further explains that prophesies that mention people called "Ratna" apply to Mchog gyur gling pa as *mchog gyur* (supreme) is an epithet for *nor bu* (jewel) and so also *ratna*. For Dri med gling pa's biography see Kong sprul 1976, vol. 1: 632.6-634.3.

¹²⁵ Tibetan sources recount this story to have happened when Mchog gyur gling pa was thirteen years old but they also mention that it occurred in the early months of the Iron Female Ox year, which would be 1841. The apparent discrepancy between this date and the age claimed for Mchog gyur gling pa can be explained in the way that Tibetans count the age of a person by starting at one when a child is born and becoming two at the first day of the new year. Thus, a person born in January of a given year will be counted as two years old in February or March (i.e. the first day of the Tibetan new year).

dharma robes, blue boots, and used a khaṭvāṅga for a walking stick. The *yogin* asked for his name and the name of the place and, when Mchog gyur gling pa had answered, the *yogin* uttered the following prophesy: “Well then, since this place is called Maṇi kha, and your name is Nor bu bstan ‘dzin, and the place up there is Ārya nang you will become someone especially noble in this world.”¹²⁶ By this prophesy, we are told, Mchog gyur gling pa was granted empowerment into ‘gaining mastery over the storehouse of the profound Treasures.’¹²⁷ With this prediction the *yogin*, who was no other than Padmasambhava in person, dissolved into light and was gone.

Having met Padmasambhava in this way Mchog gyur gling pa began his Treasure revealing career. Generally, in systematizing the various teachings that passed through or originated in Mchog gyur gling pa his followers adopted a particular system known as “the seven descents” (*bka’ bab bdun*). By means of these seven descents, or religious transmissions, all teachings handed down to Mchog gyur gling pa as well as his own visionary revelations are presented according to their manner of reception. Although Mchog gyur gling pa is considered an indispensable factor for the manifestation of his visionary teachings he is nevertheless not considered their author but rather their

¹²⁶ “‘o na sa la maṇi kha ming la nor bu bstan ‘dzin ya ki lung pa la ārya nang zer bas khyod la ‘jig rten na khyad par ‘phags pa ‘ong” (Dkon mchog 1982: 49.4). This prophecy plays on the words in Mchog gyur gling pa’s answers as ‘maṇi’ means ‘jewel’, as does ‘nor bu’, and ‘ārya’ is the Sanskrit for ‘phag pa’, here translated as ‘noble’.

¹²⁷ “zab mo gter gi bang mdzod la rang dbang brnyes pa’i rjes su gnang ba stsa!” (Dkon mchog 1982: 49.5).

transmitter.¹²⁸ The notion of seven descents has old roots in the Ancient School where it can be traced back to Rong zon chos kyi bzang po (1012-1088) in the eleventh century. In its classical formulation this system refers to seven transmissions of tantric material passing from India into Tibet during the latter half of the eighth century and first half of the ninth century (Germano 2002). In the nineteenth century, however, Mchog gyur gling pa and 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po both reveal Treasures that radically reinterpret this system. The classical seven descents were only concerned with the various lineages of the Transmitted Precepts (*bka' ma*) but in the nineteenth century reinterpretation of this system the lineages of Treasure and Pure Vision (*dag snang*) are included to the extent that the Transmitted Precepts only occupy a single transmission among the seven. The earliest source for this new system is a prophetic scripture from Mchog gyur gling pa's foremost Treasure; the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* (*Three Sections of the Great Perfection*), which declares that both Mchog gyur gling pa and Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po will come to receive seven spiritual descents of 1) Transmitted Precepts (*bka' ma*), 2) Earth Treasures (*sa gter*), 3) Rediscovered Treasures (*yang gter*), 4) Mind Treasures (*dgongs gter*), 5) Recollected Treasures (*rjes dran gter*), 6) Pure Vision (*dag snang*), and 7) Oral Lineage (*snyan brgyud*).¹²⁹ As these transmissions traditionally

¹²⁸ The issue of the Treasure revealers role in the manifestation of Treasures is complex. As Kapstein points out, although the Treasure revealer is not formally considered the author of his or her revelations, the Treasures are always classified according to their discoverer indicating that the tradition considers the role of the revealer more than the mere conveying of the messages of others (2000: 259, no. 112).

¹²⁹ Dkon mchog 1982: 177.3; Padma ye shes 1982a: 134.4, Dudjom 1991: 844. The texts of the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* cycle are found in Mchog gyur 1982a vols. 21-23. Of the seven transmissions, section I

provide the framework for the presentation of both Mchog gyur gling pa's life and spiritual heritage we too shall follow these seven descents in tracing the events of Mchog gyur gling pa's religious career.

I) The Transmitted Precepts:

Mchog gyur gling pa received the transmission for the Transmitted Precepts of the Ancient School on several occasions and took active part himself in propagating this ancient literary collection. The earliest description we have of Mchog gyur gling pa receiving this transmission is by Kong sprul¹³⁰ who writes that during his life Mchog gyur gling pa received most of the Transmitted Precepts still in existence in Tibet and in turn passed on many of these teachings including instructions on all three traditional divisions of the Transmitted Precepts (known as *mdo sgyu sems gsum*).¹³¹ Padma ye shes further explains that at the Dpal ri bo che monastery Mchog gyur gling pa gave the

represents the Transmitted Precepts, section II-V the Treasure transmission, and VI-VII the Pure Vision transmission.

¹³⁰ 'Jam mgon 1976b: 650.3-5. Kong sprul is the first to structure Mchog gyur gling pa's works in terms of the seven transmissions but this method is later adopted by all subsequent hagiographers.

¹³¹ *Mdo* represents the Anuyoga teachings by referring to the Anuyoga scripture '*dus pa'i mdo*'; *sgyu* illustrates the Mahāyoga teachings by referring to the Mahāyoga cycle *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*; and *sems* represents the Atiyoga teachings by referring to the Atiyoga teachings of *Sems sde* (here understood to include the other two sections of Atiyoga, *Klong sde* and *Man ngag sde*, as well). These three sections of the Transmitted Precepts are also equated to the development stage (*skyed rim*), completion stage (*rdzogs rim*), and Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) respectively (Dkon mchog 'gyur med 1982: 178).

empowerment of the *'Dus pa'i mdo*; to the senior figures of both *Evam chos sgar* and *O rgyan smin grol gling* monasteries he conferred the empowerment and instructions of *Sgyu 'phrul zhi khro*; and at *Bsam yas mchims phu* he passed on many teachings of the Great Perfection (Padma ye shes 1982a: 135.2-4). Furthermore, Kong sprul notes that several of *Mchog gyur gling pa's* Mahāyoga and Anuyoga Treasures actually belong to the category of Transmitted Precepts in terms of both word and meaning.¹³²

II) Earth Treasure:

Even though tradition considers all Treasures of *Mchog gyur gling pa* to be revealed truth his earth Treasure revelations are given special importance. On the advice of *Ta'i si tu pa padma nyin byed dbang po* (1774-1853) *Mchog gyur gling pa* kept most of his mind Treasures secret and instead focused on the propagation of his earth Treasure revelations.¹³³ As noted earlier, the category of earth Treasure covers both actual earth Treasures and rediscovered Treasures. *Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po* mentions that *Mchog gyur gling pa* revealed altogether thirty seven major actual earth Treasures but the various

¹³² 'Jam mgon 1976, vol.1: 650.4. Kong sprul does not identify what Treasures belong within this category.

¹³³ Tobgyal 1988: 9. In general there does not seem to be any wide consensus as to which of the two, earth Treasure and mind Treasure, is most valuable. Uniformly, however, earth Treasures are said to be most difficult to reveal since they depend on outer circumstances but the interpretation of this fact varies. Followers of earth Treasures claim superiority for their Treasures based on the verifiable yellow scrolls whereas followers of mind Treasures argue that the independence of their revelations from the physical world leaves them immune to decay and therefore supreme. For examples of arguments in favor of these two positions see Tobgyal 1988: 10 and Thondup 1986: 81-82.

hagiographical commentators do not uniformly agree upon the exact identification of these thirty seven Treasures. The challenge involved in accurately identifying Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasures is noted by Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po who states:

“regarding the origin of the approximately thirty seven successive earth Treasure revelations it is difficult to explain them in detail since, in general, some [Treasures] had a seal of secrecy and still others were concealed as [future] rediscovered Treasures.”¹³⁴

In spite of such obstacles Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, with the assistance of Kong sprul and other close students of Mchog gyur gling pa, nevertheless composed a Treasure inventory identifying the following thirty seven earth Treasures.¹³⁵

1) In the year that Mchog gyur gling pa first met Padmasambhava (1841) he discovered his first Treasure, which was revealed at Brag dkar rdzong chung. At this occasion Mchog gyur gling pa discovered a *vajra* that had once been the possession of prince Mu rub btsan po, a mirror, and twenty four *sādhana*s.¹³⁶ Later Mchog gyur gling pa offered the mirror to Kong sprul and the *vajra* to Mkhyen brtse ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 26.2). Around this time Mchog gyur gling pa received his novice vows (*dge tshul*) from

¹³⁴ “*Snga phyir sa gter gyi gter kha sum chu rtsa bdun tsam phyung tshul ni spyir 'ga' zhig gsang rgya'i bab dang la la yang gter du'ang sbas pa sogs zhib par 'chad dka'*” ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 25.5).

¹³⁵ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 26.1-32.1. The following presentation of the thirty seven earth Treasures takes Mkhyen brtse's list as its basis. Alternatives of other hagiographers are listed in the notes.

¹³⁶ Tobgyal mentions that these teachings were meant for Mchog gyur gling pa's personal practice (Tobgyal 1988: 8). According to Kong sprul, on that occasion Mchog gyur gling pa also revealed a skull and a seal for the dgongs 'dus cycle ('Jam mgon 1976b: 650.6).

Stag lung ma rin po che but apparently did not receive any personal guidance from this master.¹³⁷ This period of Mchog gyur gling pa's life, in which he had not yet established a personal relationship with spiritual teachers who could advise him on his visionary experiences seems to be a time of some spiritual uncertainty. Mchog gyur gling pa himself speaks of several uncertain visions occurring during this period and describes how he struggled to establish whether they were well-boding precedents for Treasure revelation or negative obstacles to his spiritual development. Finally he settled on the latter and ignored these early visions (Mchog gyur: 1982b: 181.5).

2) Mchog gyur gling pa discovered the second of his Treasures at a white *stūpa* at Bsam yas the following year when he was just twelve or thirteen years old (1842/1843).¹³⁸ However, as circumstances were not right, he decided to conceal it again ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 26.3).

¹³⁷ Although Stag lung ma is counted as one of Mchog gyur gling pa's four main teachers there are no descriptions of Mchog gyur gling pa receiving spiritual instruction from this master and it seems that his importance stems solely from him conferring the novice vows on Mchog gyur gling pa.

¹³⁸ Sources provide no date for this event but mention that it occurred when Mchog gyur gling pa was fourteen years old (Tibetan counting). This would mean that the revelation occurred either in 1842 or 1843. Mchog gyur gling pa mentions in his autobiography that shortly after meeting Padmasambhava he discovered a Treasure inventory (*kha byang*) from the Crystal Cave (Shel brag) of Yar lung but he does not specify for which Treasure(s) it was meant (Mchog gyur 1982b: 181.5). This is most likely the same Treasure listed by Mkhyen brtse. It could, however, also be an alternative Treasure inventory, mentioned by Orgyen Tobgyal, prophesizing all Mchog gyur gling pa's earth Treasures (1988: 7-8). I have not been able to locate any mention of this inventory in the older sources.

3) The third earth Treasure was revealed on November 7, 1848 when Mchog gyur gling pa in secrecy discovered the *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* cycle -- one of his most influential Treasures -- from the site of Zla nyin kha la rong sgo (*ibid.*: 26.3). This Treasure, which belongs to the Mahāyoga cycle of *The Magical Net* (*Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*), contains practices for accomplishing the *trikāya guru* deities of Amitayus, Avalokiteśvara, and Padmasambhava in combination with twelve manifestations of Padmasambhava.¹³⁹ Mchog gyur gling pa did not immediately make this Treasure public but kept it a secret for eight years until he finally showed the yellow scrolls to Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po who enthusiastically told Mchog gling that he himself had revealed an almost identical Treasure. It is said that by comparing the two Treasures and finding them to be almost identical in both word and meaning Mkhyen brtse and Mchog gling

¹³⁹ The twelve emanations of Padmasambhava appear in the following order: Rgyal ba'i gdung 'dzin, Smra ba'i seng ge, Skyes mchog tshul bzang, Bdud kyi gshed chen, 'Dzam gling rgyan mchog, Padma 'byung gnas, Khyad par 'phags pa'i rig 'dzin, Rdzu 'phrul mthu chen, Rdo rje drag rtsal, Skal ldan 'dren mdzad, Rakṣa thod phreng, and Bde chen rgyal po. The cycle of *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* together with its subsequent commentaries and ritual arrangements, composed by a number of influential masters (most notably Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul), occupy the first nine and a half volumes of *The New Treasures*. The first volume contains the root *tantra* *Zhal gdams snying byang* and the remaining volumes consist of practices related to the abovementioned deities in the order listed here. In addition to these major deities the *Bar chad kun sel* cycle also contains various practices directed to the four classes of *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs* as well as the protectors of the cycle, such as Tshe ring mched lnga and Kun 'khyil mched gsum (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 1-10). See also Schmidt 1989: I-VI.

developed great confidence in each other and from this point onwards they collaborated closely on the establishment and propagation of this and many other Treasure cycles.¹⁴⁰

4) On September 26, 1849 the Avalokiteśvara cycle *Thugs rje chen po padma gtsug tor* was discovered at Bun rdzong.¹⁴¹ Accompanying this revelation were, among other unspecified objects, a small Avalokiteśvara statue said to have been crafted from a bone of Khrid srong lde'u btsan.¹⁴² In the prophecy (*lung byang*) of the *Padma gtsug tor* cycle Si tu padma nyin byed dbang po is prophesized as an emanation of Padmasambhava himself and the main doctrine holder (*chos bdag*) of the *Padma gtsug tor* cycle:

“When Lha sras [mu rub btsan po] turns twenty five he will meet

My speech emanation known as Padma nyin byed --

A regent of the *Jina* who holds high the victory banner of practice

And is like a torch in the dense darkness of the final days.

Without secrecy he [i.e. Mchog gyur gling pa] will place his trust in him

¹⁴⁰ See further Tobgyal 1988: 10.

¹⁴¹ This cycle is found in volumes 10 and 11 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁴² According to Padma ye shes this statue was made from a bone of Padmasambhava's consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal (1982a: 97.6). In a note to this revelation Mkhyen brtse mentions that some people incorrectly claim this revelation to have occurred in the following year (1850) ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 26.5). The date given by Mkhyen brtse is confirmed in both Mchog gyur gling pa's autobiography (Mchog gyur 1982b: 182.2) and the *Padma gtsug tor* Treasure text itself (Mchog gyur 1982d: 291).

Where after many obstacles spontaneously will be cleared away.”¹⁴³

Accordingly, in 1853 Mchog gyur gling pa went to the monastery of Dpal spung where he met with Si tu pa padma nyin byed dbang po. This was an important meeting for Mchog gyur gling pa as it was Si tu pa who advised Mchog gling to keep his mind Treasures secret and instead focus on propagating earth Treasure revelations. The year 1853 was surely one of the most important periods in the spiritual development of Mchog gyur gling pa as he came into contact with all his closest teachers in the space of just a few months. Soon after meeting with Si tu pa, on the day of the festival commemorating the Buddha’s first teaching (July 10, 1853), Mchog gyur gling pa received the bodhisattva vows from Mkhan chen zla bzang, the second of his major spiritual friends, and in the same month (July 30, 1853) he was initiated into the tantric vehicle by ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul blo gros mtha’ yas in an empowerment ceremony of *Thugs rje chen po bde gshegs kun ‘dus* whereby Kong sprul became the third of Mchog gyur gling pa’s gurus (Padma ye shes 1982a: 99.5-100.2). Shortly thereafter, on October 10, 1853, Mchog gyur gling pa met for the first time ‘Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang po who offered him the empowerment of *Phur pa yang gsang spu kri* together with many instructions, including teachings on the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*), whereby he became Mchog gyur gling pa’s fourth and most significant teacher, responsible for

¹⁴³ “nga yi gsung sprul padma nyin byed ces / rgyal ba’i gdung tshab sprul pa’i rgyal mtshan btsug / dus mtha’i mun rum nang du sgron me bzhin / lha sras nyid kyis nyer lnga’i dus su mjal / sba gsang med par blo gtad de ru skyol / de nas ma bsgrigs lhun grub rten ‘brel mang” (Padma ye shes 1982a: 98.1).

introducing him to the recognition of the nature of mind (Padma ye shes: 100.2-100.6; 103.6).¹⁴⁴

5) The next Treasure revelation was a secret discovery of auxiliary texts belonging to the *Bar chad kun sel* cycle from a white rock at the feet of the Ri bo dbang zhu mountain. These auxiliary practices focus on four deities who clear away obstacles: Tārā (Sgrol ma), Acala (Mi g.yo ba), Rdo rje be con, and Sme ba brtsegs pa. Of these four most texts focus on the practice of Tārā and the exercise of yogic heat (*gtum mo*) centered on the deity Acala.¹⁴⁵ The date for this Treasure is uncertain. According to Mkhyen brtse, it was discovered while Mchog gyur gling pa was twenty seven, which would mean sometime in 1855 or early 1856 ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 26.5). Mchog gyur gling pa, on the other hand, mentions that this occurred when he was twenty six and says that it was the year of the tiger, which would be 1854 or early 1855 (Mchog gyur 1982b: 182.3). Padma ye shes places this revelation in a third year altogether when Mchog gyur gling pa first met Si tu pa (1853).¹⁴⁶ The most probable date for this revelation seems nevertheless to be the year provided by Mchog gyur gling pa himself. Assuming, however, that the month mentioned by Padma ye shes is reliable (in spite of the year

¹⁴⁴ Here, Padma ye shes further explains that on this occasion Mkhyen brtse and Mchog gling remembered seven past lives spent in each others company. Several prophesies exist in *The New Treasures* mentioning the close relationship between Mkhyen brtse and Mchog gling but the most famous is the prophecy of the *Rten 'brel mdo chings* Treasure (Mchog gyur: 1982a vol. 22: 439-499). For a translation see Dudjom 1991: 843.

¹⁴⁵ This cycle is found in volumes 11 and 12 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁴⁶ Padma ye shes 1982a: 99.1. This is the only source to mention a specific month for the revelation (the first two weeks of the tenth month = December 1- 15, 1853).

being incorrect) the time of this revelation would be sometime between November 21 and December 6, 1854.

6) The sixth earth Treasure revelation consisted of the *Zab pa skor bdun* revealed at Karma'i dam chen brag on May 19, 1856 (Mchog gyur 1982b: 182.4). These ritual cycles focus on seven deities (or groups of deities) each having a particular advantageous specialty: 1) Māyājāla (Sgyu 'phrul) -- profound *tantra*; Viśuddha (Yang dag) -- profound eminence; Hayagrīva (Rta mgrin) -- profound empowerment; Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka ('Jam dpal gshin rje) -- profound fierce *mantra*; Kīlaya (Phur pa) -- profound wrathful activity, *Rtsa gsum* (*guru, deva, ḍākinī*) -- profound long life; and Ma mo -- profound dispeller of obstacles and creator of realization.¹⁴⁷

7) Shortly thereafter, on July 12, 1856, the seventh Treasure was revealed from Ye rgyal nam mkha' mdzod. This Treasure contained auxiliary texts related to the *Zab pa skor bdun* cycle as well as two statues and various sacred substances ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 27.1).

8) On October 9, 1856 Mchog gyur gling pa returned to Zla nyin kha la rong sgo where he previously revealed the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* cycle. This time, he revealed a guide book for Zla nyin kha la rong sgo as well as a brief history of the *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel* cycle. He also revealed several secret sacred items (*dam rdzas bka' rgya ma*).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ In *The New Treasures* the texts of this revelation together with the auxiliary texts for the *Zab bdun* cycle (see earth Treasure no. 7) are found in volumes 12-19.

¹⁴⁸ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 27.3. These texts are found in volume 1 of *The New Treasures*.

Mchog gyur gling pa recounts that sometime during the following month (October 29 – November 28, 1856) he revealed the skull of the Brahmin ‘Thung nag po from the site of Khams mig ye brag. He also mentions that, although a dharma Treasure (*chos gter*) was present at that location, he left it untouched (Mchog gyur 1982b: 183.1). Mkhyen brtse does, however, not classify this skull as an earth Treasure but a material Treasure (*rdzas gter*) (‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 32.1-4). It is not entirely clear on what basis this distinction is made and, in particular when comparing with Mkhyen brtse’s classification of earth Treasures no. 32 and 35 (see below), the grounds for classification are unclear. From this it appears that the enumeration of thirty seven earth Treasures merely is indicative -- a fact also pointed out by Mkhyen brtse and most of his fellow subsequent hagiographers.

9) On January 28, 1857 Mchog gyur gling pa revealed his foremost Treasure, the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* (*The Three Sections of the Great Perfection*) from the Lotus Crystal Cave (Padma shel phug) in Smar shod dzam.¹⁴⁹ As the teachings of the Great perfection are considered to be the pinnacle of vehicles the exalted nature of this Treasure is evident from its title alone, but, according to Tulku Urgyen, this cycle is considered to be Mchog gyur gling pa’s foremost Treasure because it is the only Tibetan Treasure to reveal all three sections of the Great Perfection (Urgyen 2000: 1).¹⁵⁰ This Treasure has many subdivisions and contains, according to Mkhyen brtse, no less than seven different

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*: 27.3. This cycle is found in volumes 21-23 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁵⁰ Prior to Mchog gyur gling pa’s revelations several Treasure revealers had discovered teachings on the mind section (*sems sde*) and instruction section (*man ngag sde*) while no one had revealed teachings on the space section (*klong sde*).

individual “heart essence teachings” (*snying thig*), such as the *Padma gar dbang snying thig*, the *Rigs gsum snying thig*, and the *Vairocana'i snying thig*. In revealing the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* Treasure Mchog gyur gling pa was intimately assisted by both Mkhjen brtse and Kong sprul; especially by Mkhjen brtse who helped as scribe as Mchog gyur gling pa dictated the teachings from the yellow scrolls.¹⁵¹ Until then Mchog gyur gling pa's revelations had all taken place in secret and were only later made public, but from this time onward Mchog gyur gling pa's hagiographers note a shift in his revelatory style with more Treasures being revealed in public, often with large gatherings witnessing the events – the so-called “public revelations” (*khrom gter*).¹⁵²

10) On February 4, 1857, one week after the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* discovery, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed, at the same place,¹⁵³ the cycle of *Dga' rab rdo rje'i snying thig* as well as a *Dga' rab rdo rje* reliquary (*gdung rten*).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ The role of Kong sprul in this revelation seems unclear. According to Kong sprul's autobiography his involvement appears limited (Barron 2003: 110) but see also Tobgyal 1988: 14-15.

¹⁵² Padma ye shes 1982a: 105.6. Kong sprul mentions that “since most of these [Treasures] were public Treasures they were perceived by everyone with their [own] senses and so they were beyond dispute” (*de dag phal cher khrom gter du mdzad pas kun gi dbang po'i spyod yul rtsod pa dang bral par gyur*) (‘Jam mgon 1976b: 652.2).

¹⁵³ The place of revelation was “the upper part of the Crystal Cave” (*padma shel phug gi dbu rtse*) (Dkon mchog 1982: 229.6).

¹⁵⁴ Mkhjen brtse states that this revelation was a *phral gter* (accidental Treasure?) (‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 27.5). In Mchog gling's own account this revelation is mentioned before the revelation of the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* and said to be revealed from Khams mig ye brag (Mchog gyur 1982b: 183.1-5). This is not correct because the colophon to the *Dga' rab rdo rje snying thig* itself states that its revelation occurred at *Padma shel phug* (Mchog gyur 1982e: 14.1). Mchog gyur gling pa mentions only the revelation of the *Dga'*

11) On May 24, 1857 at Dpa' bo dbang chen brag Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a descriptive inventory (*mdo byang*) of the twenty five sacred places of Mdo khams. These twenty five places are divided into five main sections of body, speech, mind, quality, and activity with each section further divided into the same five groupings thus totaling twenty five.¹⁵⁵

12) Only nine days after the discovery of the Mdo khams inventory Mchog gyur gling pa revealed his next Treasure; a secret revelation of the '*Jam dpal bshes gnyen snying thig*' taken from '*bri gnyan sdod gsang phug*' on June 2, 1857.¹⁵⁶

13) Six days later on June 8, 1857, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the *Mtsho rgyal snying thig* together with an unidentified inventory from Seng chen gnam brag.¹⁵⁷

14) The fourteenth of Mchog gyur gling pa's earth Treasures was the cycle of *Dam chos shog sde drug*, which was revealed together with, among others, a secret

rab rdo rje statue but also says that he revealed a minor Treasure (*phran gter*) from the vicinity (Mchog gyur 1982b: 183.5). Could this be the *Dga' rab rdo rje snying thig*? Note also the similarity between *phral gter* (mentioned by Mkhyen brtse) and *phran gter* (spoken of by Mchog gyur gling pa).

¹⁵⁵ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 27.5. This inventory becomes very influential in East Tibet and is extensively quoted throughout *The New Treasures* (found in vol. 24). See also Zangpo 2001: 97-100; 225-228.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 27.5. This Treasure is not mentioned by Padma ye shes who nevertheless, in describing the thirteenth Treasure, mentions the date for the '*Jam dpal bshes gnyen snying thig*' revelation (Padma ye shes 1982a: 106.4). This Treasure was not included in *The New Treasures* and might be lost.

¹⁵⁷ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 27.6. Mchog gyur gling pa mentions that on this occasion, while everyone present were watching, he revealed from the cave a stream of water supporting long life (Mchog gyur 1982b: 184.3). The texts revealed on this occasion also are not found in *The New Treasures* and were, like the previous Treasure, probably lost before Mchog gling's Treasures were compiled.

manuscript, a crown belonging to Padmasambhava, a seal belonging to prince Mu rub btsan po, robes belonging to the Buddha, and spiritual medicine prepared by Dga' rab rdo rje. The revelation took place in the vicinity of Seng chen gnam brag on June 12, 1857.¹⁵⁸

15) At Brag rin chen 'bar ba (also in the area of Seng chen gnam brag) on the following day, June 13, 1857, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a container with spiritual medicine prepared by the twenty five disciples of Padmasambhava together with an unspecified cycle of teachings (*chos skor*) ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.2).

16) On June 15, 1857 at Sman rgyal 'dra ba'i brag (likewise in the Seng brag area) Mchog gyur gling pa revealed medicinal substances and a yellow scroll. Mkhyen brtse records that Mchog gling distributed the medicine but kept the yellow scroll secret ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.3). All the Treasures revealed at Seng brag were revealed as public revelations.

17) The seventeenth earth Treasure is undated but was revealed at 'Dzi smad mkha' 'gro shel phug¹⁵⁹ where Mchog gyur gling pa discovered a guide to the place

¹⁵⁸ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.1-2. Mchog gyur gling pa's autobiography has a longer list and mentions the revelation of the following artifacts: an undergarment, cloak, crown, and *vajra* belonging to Padmasambhava; a piece of cloth belonging to the Buddha (*bston pa*); gold earrings belonging to Ye shes mtsho rgyal ornamented with jewels such as sapphires and rubies; clothes belonging to Khri strong lde'u btsan, Ye shes mtsho rgyal, Mandharava, Vairocana; various ornaments belonging to Vajrasattva; a statue of Padmasambhava; various sacred substances; a container with blessed medicine; and a seal belonging to Padmasambhava (Mchog gyur 1982b: 184.3-6). The teachings of *Dam chos shog sde drug* are found in vol. 24-25 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁵⁹ Mchog gyur gling pa names this place 'Dzi padma shel phug (Mchog gyur 1982b: 185.2).

written on the robes of Śāntarakṣita as well as, among other things, earrings belonging to Rgyal ba mchog dbyangs.¹⁶⁰

18) At Ke rong rdo rje cong phug Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a substance supporting long life (*tshe rdzas*) that had been blessed by Padmasambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal together with an onyx (*gzi*) box and several Treasure inventories (*kha byang*).¹⁶¹ Mchog gyur gling pa further mentions that in the surrounding area he revealed several wealth Treasures (Mchog gyur 1982b: 185.2).

19) On December 12, 1857 at Karma'i 'bum rdzong padma'i dbang phug the four cycles of *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dong sprugs* together with several sacred substances were revealed.¹⁶²

20) From the 'Bum rdzong lake Mchog gyur gling pa performed a revelation of the yellow scrolls for the *Chos skyong dgong 'dus*. It is said that amidst a gathering of people Mchog gyur gling pa received the yellow scrolls in a stone container from a *nāga* demon who brought the Treasure to the surface of the lake holding it between its teeth.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.4. Rgyal ba mchog dbyangs was one of the twenty five disciples of Padmasambhava. The guide text is found in vol. 25 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶¹ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.4. This revelation is undated. The inventories are not included in *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶² 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.4. This cycle is found in vol. 25-26 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶³ Dkon mchog 1982: 235.3 has the longest description. All accounts are undated but the revelation must have occurred around the time of the previous revelation (if not on the same day).

21) At the Rnying phug cave, also at ‘Bum rdzong, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the six cycles of *Zur bza’i thugs dam*,¹⁶⁴ an inventory for ‘Bum rdzong, and the cycle of *Padma gar dbang sgyu ‘phrul drwa ba* together with a Tārā statue and blessed pills (*ril bu*) made from the body of the Indian master Prabhahasti.¹⁶⁵ *Zur bza’i thugs dam* is a set of Mahāyoga practices meant for the accomplishment of six particular *ḍākinīs*: Vajravārāhī (Rdo rje phag mo), Wrathful Tārā (Sgrol ma khro gnyer), Gsang ba ye shes, Maṇḍarava, Ye shes mtsho rgyal, and Ekajaṭī.

22) At ‘Og min karma’i dpal gyi de’u sometime during 1858 Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the *Ma mo spyi bsdu*s Treasure together with blessed pills.¹⁶⁶

23) On November 16, 1858 at Ke la nor bu spun gsum gi brag the inner guru cycle of *Bla ma’i thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu bsam pa lhun grub* was revealed together with a statue of Padmasambhava.¹⁶⁷ The *Yid bzhin nor bu* cycle is focused on the practice of Padmasambhava in the form of Guru che mchog with a retinue of the following: Guru bde ba chen po, Guru padma sman gyi rgyal, Guru nor lha dbang gyi rgyal, Guru yi dam

¹⁶⁴ Princess Zur bza’ me tog sgron was a disciple of Padmasambhava. This cycle is found in vol. 26 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 28.6. This account is likewise undated but must also have transpired together with the other discoveries at ‘Bum rdzong. The inventory is found in vol. 26 of *The New Treasures* while the *Padma gar dbang* cycle occupies vols. 26-28.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 29.1. This cycle is found in vol. 28 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.: 29.2. I have not used the date given by Mkhyen brtse (October 17, 1858) since he, in his own colophon to the Treasure text, (written only shortly after the revelation) mentions that the revelation occurred at the above date (Mchog gyur 1982f: 139.1). This cycle is found in vol. 28-29 of *The New Treasures*.

dbang gyi rgyal, Guru sgrub pa'i ke skong rgyal, Guru dpa' bo ging gi gtso, Guru 'byung bzhi dbang sgyur rgyal, Guru ma rungs skrod mdzad che, Guru rdo rje'i go cha can, Guru 'chi ba'i sdug bsngal sel, Guru bar do'i 'khrul snang 'joms, Guru skye ba'i sdug bsngal sbyong, Guru 'gro drug kun gyi skyabs.

24) Shortly thereafter at Go stod 'od 'bar brag, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed an account of the historical origins of sacred medicine and a statue said to liberate by sight as well as a short Treasure text of Rgyal chen rnam thos sras.¹⁶⁸

25) On August 8, 1859 the three cycles of *Gsang thig snying po* were revealed from Dpal spung yang khrod devī koṭi tsā dra rin chen brag. These three cycles focus on the practice of the deities Vajrasattva (Rdo rje sems dpa'), Yang dag Heruka, and Vajrakīlaya (Rdo rje phur pa). Also revealed at that occasion was a guide to that place and sacred pills made from "all buddhas."¹⁶⁹

After this event Mchog gyur gling pa performed a revelation not mentioned by Mkhyen brtse in his enumeration of the thirty seven Treasures; two short, undated, *bon sādhanas* revealed from Lha mdo 'bur mo brag. The *sādhanas* focus on the *bon* deities Dbang drag 'bar ba and Rma rgyal spom ra. Dkon mchog 'gyur med, on the other hand,

¹⁶⁸ Mkhyen brtse mentions that this occurred in the tenth month (November 6 – December 5, 1858) ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 29.3). However, given his incorrect dates for the previous Treasure revelation this date might also be one month too early. These texts are all found in vol. 29 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁶⁹ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 29.4. These cycles are found in vols. 29-30 of *The New Treasures*.

mentions this revelation but describes it as an auxiliary revelation to Mchog gyur gling pa's twenty fifth revelation.¹⁷⁰

26) During the early winter of 1859 Mchog gyur gling pa revealed inventories for many Treasure sites as well as several descriptions of such Treasure sites from the Sga stod me seng rin chen shel brag. He also revealed a *sāccha* (*tsa tsa*) containing a tooth of Padmasambhava.¹⁷¹

27) According to Mkhyen brtse, the next earth Treasure revelation took place at Sga stod g.yu brag where he brought forth a statue of white Tārā made by Vimalamitra, together with substances for long life and (the text?) of *Thugs tig snying po*. We are told that this revelation was kept in utmost secrecy ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.1).

However, according to the table of contents of *The New Treasures*, the twenty seventh Treasure consisted of a series of short rituals entitled *Bod khams bde thabs chos bcu yi bstan pa srung ba'i skor bzhi* for the four protectors – Yamāntaka (Gshin rje), Hayagrīva (Rta mgrin), Kīlaya (Phur pa), and Mgon po – revealed from Ye rgyal nam mdzod shar stod bre mo rong gshin rje'i rba dong.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Dkon mchog 1982: 244.2. Although the reasons for classifying this merely as an auxiliary discovery are not stated one can speculate that it would have been improper to include *bon* teachings among Mchog gyur gling pa's major revelations. Mkhyen brtse's omission of these revelations would likewise support this thesis. These two texts are found in vol. 30 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁷¹ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 29.5. The inventories are found in vol. 30 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁷² Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 30: 3. Padma ye shes has the same list as Mkhyen brtse but his text is generally an almost verbatim copy of Mkhyen brtse (Padma ye shes 1982a: 110.2). Still, Padma ye shes later speaks of the *Bod khams bde thabs chos bcu yi bstan pa srung ba'i skor bzhi* having been revealed just after the

28) It was not until May 30, 1864 that Mchog gyur gling pa revealed another earth Treasure. This revelation, which took place from G.yu bal brag at Ye rgyal nam mkha' mdzod, contained the cycles of *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs kun 'dus* (the famous Mahāyoga eight deity practice originally revealed by Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer),¹⁷³ *Tāla'i byang bu nāgara yig* (a short cycle of Anuyoga scripture focused on the deity Acala (Mi g.yo ba), and *Kun bzang thugs thig* (an Atiyoga cycle based on the *maṇḍala* of the peaceful and wrathful deities), accompanied by an unidentified statue and various sacred substances (*rdzas*).¹⁷⁴

29) To the west¹⁷⁵ of Nam mkha' mdzod (and presumably around the same time) at Tse zhal brag (also known as Tshe rgyas brag) Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a long life substance blessed by Padmasambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal together with the cycles of *Tshe sgrub rdo rje'i phreng ba* and *Tshe rgyud 'chi med bdud rtsi 'khyil ba*.¹⁷⁶

revelation of the two cycles of *Tshe sgrub rdo rje'i phreng ba* and *Tshe rgyud 'chi med bdud rtsi 'khyil ba* (here listed as revelation no. 29). Dkon mchog gyur med's list is in accordance with the table of contents (Dkon mchog 1982: 251.6). The protective rituals are found in vol. 30 of *The New Treasures*. Neither revelation is dated.

¹⁷³ This cycle is found in vol. 30 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁷⁴ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.2. The latter two cycles are found in vol. 31 of *The New Treasures*. From Padma ye shes we can gather that the revelations of Mchog gyur gling pa were not entirely paused in the years preceding these revelations. He mentions, for example, several occasions where Mchog gyur gling pa revealed statues and sacred pills in the period following his revelations at Sga stod (Padma ye shes 1982a: 110.3). Apparently these revelations were not considered sufficiently important to be listed by Mkhyen brtse in his enumeration of the major earth Treasures.

¹⁷⁵ Padma ye shes 1982a: 115.5: south. Dkon mchog 'gyur med 1982: 250.5: south-west.

¹⁷⁶ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.4. This cycle is found in vol. 31 of *The New Treasures*.

30) On November 4, 1866 in the secret cave (*gsang phug*) of Rong rme 'chi med dkar mo stag tshang Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the five cycles of *Dam chos snying po* ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.5).

31) Later, on November 16, 1866, from “the leftmost secret cave” also at 'Chi med dkar mo stag tshang Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the instruction manual of Padmasambhava entitled *Zhal gdams lam rim ye shes snying po* that belongs to the Innermost Guru Cycle of Rdo rje drag rtsal ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.5). This text, which is one of the most important Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa, was put into writing from the yellow scroll by Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po and later elaborated on in a highly regarded commentary by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul.¹⁷⁷ Dkon mchog 'gyur med mentions that this text was the only text that could be established (*phabs pa*) from the *Rdo rje drag rtsal* cycle as circumstances did not allow for further revelations. Even so, he claims that the value of this single text alone is higher than a hundred other Treasure revelations heaped together since it contains not only the essence of the *tantras*, explanatory scriptures, and oral instructions of all Treasure teachings in general but in particular all four cycles of accomplishment of the guru principle (Dkon mchog 1982: 253.4). Dkon mchog 'gyur med continues to praise Kong sprul's commentary and even classifies it as a Treasure in its own right:

“Just hearing the name of this profound teaching puts [saṃsāric] existence in tatters. To study and reflect upon it gives rise to undefiled wisdom. To put it into practice grants the result of buddhahood. This

¹⁷⁷ Found in Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 32: 67-519.

commentary is also a Treasure that burst forth from the expanse of genuine wisdom; certainly no ordinary person, no matter how learned he might be, will be able to write like this.”¹⁷⁸

So respected is Kong sprul’s commentary that it has come to be regarded as *the* exposition on the paths and practices of *The New Treasures* and the single most authoritative explanation on the intent in Mchog gyur gling pa’s Treasures.

32) On the following day, November 17, 1866, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a Treasure from the lake called Ma pham seng rgod g.yu mtsho.¹⁷⁹ Mkhyen brtse does not mention what the Treasure contained, but Padma ye shes mentions that it contained jewels and “similar objects” (Padma ye shes 1982a: 117.2).

33) On April 2, 1867 at Rdzong shod bde gshegs 'dus pa'i pho brang a *sāccha* (*tsa tsa*) made by Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita, and Khri strong lde'u btsan was revealed by Mchog gyur gling pa together with an inventory to Rdzong shod bde gshegs 'dus pa.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ “*zab chos mtshan tsam thos pas srid pa hrul por bgyid pa / thos bsam byas na zag med kyi ye shes skye ba / nyams su lang na sangs rgyas kyi 'bras bu ster ba 'grel ba 'di'ang dam pa ye shes kyi klong las brdol pa'i gter chos yin gyi gang zag ji ltar mkhas kyang 'di lta bu brtsams par mi nus so*” (Dkon mchog 1982: 254.1-2). This Treasure, together with Kong sprul’s commentary, is found in vol. 32 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 30.6. Mkhyen brtse also mentions that Mchog gyur gling pa in the early morning had revealed a *vajra* belonging to Padmasambhava but he does not count this *vajra* as one of the thirty seven Treasures.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Jam dbyangs 1982c: 31.1. The inventory is found in vol. 32 of *The New Treasures*.

34) On April 15, 1867 at Padma shel ri sacred pills were revealed together with an inventory for that site.¹⁸¹

35) The following day, April 16, 1867, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a stone container for *Rig 'dzin yongs rdzogs snying thig* together with sacred substances as well as a Treasure container, shaped like a curved knife, for *Heruka 'dus pa'i thugs tig* from the place of Khyung tshang brag (*Jam dbyangs* 1982c: 31.3) According to Dkon mchog 'gyur med, this was a material Treasure (*rdzas gter*) so it must be assumed that there were no texts in the containers.¹⁸²

36) Mkhyen brtse lists the thirty sixth earth Treasure as the cycle of *Bde mchog sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*, a guide to Ru dam gangs kyi ra ba as well as sacred substances, all revealed on May 20, 1867¹⁸³ from three stone containers at Ru dam gangs khrod bde ba chen po.¹⁸⁴

Dkon mchog 'gyur med (whose list includes thirty eight major earth Treasures) counts another Treasure, not listed by Mkhyen brtse, as the thirty sixth Treasure but, aside from classifying it as a material Treasure, he does not mention what the Treasure

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*: 31.2. The inventory is found in vol. 32 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁸² Dkon mchog 1982: 254.3. *The New Treasures* also contain no texts from this revelation.

¹⁸³ Mkhyen brtse gives the date as May 13, 1867 (*sa ga zla ba'i sher phyogs gyi rgyal ba gnyis pa*) ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 31.4). However, Mchog gyur gling pa's colophon to the Treasure mentions that it was revealed on the festival day of that month, which is the fifteenth day, thus, May 20, 1867 (Mchog gyur 1982g: 145.5).

¹⁸⁴ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 31.4. These texts are found in vol. 33 of *The New Treasures*.

contained or where it was taken from. He then counts the revelation from Ru dam gangs as the thirty seventh.¹⁸⁵

37) On August 13, 1867 Mchog gyur gling pa revealed his last major earth Treasure from Ke la nor bu spun gsum brag. This was the seven cycles of *Dam chos nor bu* together with ornaments belonging to Guru seng ge sgra sgrogs and a statue of that master.¹⁸⁶ According to the catalogue of *The New Treasures*, an inner accomplishment of the *ḍākinīs* and an offering ritual to the Treasure protectors Nor bdag mched gsum were established from the yellow scrolls; however, no teachings of this cycle remain (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 33: 2).

This completes Mkhyen brtse's description of the thirty seven major earth Treasures. In addition, he adds, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed numerous smaller Treasures such as inventories (*ka byang*) and material Treasures. For example, Mkhyen brtse mentions the revelations at Seng chen gnam brag of seven different kinds of inventories from a single earth Treasure.¹⁸⁷ To illustrate the many material Treasures that

¹⁸⁵ Dkon mchog 1982: 254.3. Although I have not been able to find any reference to this Treasure elsewhere, a future study might identify it by references elsewhere to Treasures revealed between April 16 and May 13, 1867.

¹⁸⁶ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 31.5. Kong sprul mentions that the statue was of Padmasambhava ('Jam mgon 1976, vol. 1: 651.1).

¹⁸⁷ The seven kinds of inventories were preliminary inventory (*snga kha byang*), general inventory (*phyir kha byang*), actual inventory (*kha byang dngos*), essential inventory (*gnad byang*), abridged inventory (*mdo byang*), further inventory (*yang byang*), and innermost inventory (*snying byang*) ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 32.1). Mkhyen brtse mentions seven but does not list the abridged inventory. The list is complete in Padma ye shes 1982a: 120.3.

Mchog gyur gling pa revealed Mkhyen brtse mentions the revelation of relics of the Buddha and soil from the sacred place of Marāṭika (in Nepal) that took place at Ri bo dbang phug after Mchog gyur gling pa had revealed the auxiliary material for the *Bar chad kun sel* cycle. He also mentions the revelation of the Brahmin skull described above (see revelation no. 8), *bodhicitta* pills of Padmasambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal revealed at Dpa' 'og 'bur mo, and the relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa revealed from the Rgyam rgyal g.yu mtsho lake ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 32.2-5).

It was prophesized that Mchog gyur gling pa would reveal more than one hundred Treasures representing enlightened body, speech, mind, and activity but, according to Mkhyen brtse, it is almost impossible to put an exact number on his Treasures since some Treasures representing enlightened body, such as statues, were multiplied while other Treasures representing enlightened speech, such as the teachings of the *Zab pa skor bdun* and *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* cycles, contain several individual teachings. Furthermore, Mkhyen brtse says, Mchog gyur gling pa performed innumerable revelations of sacred substances but to derive an overview of these revelations one needs to refer to the colophons of his individual Treasures ('Jam dbyangs: 32.6 – 33.6). It is therefore clear that the mention of thirty seven Treasures is merely a representative (and auspicious) number that the tradition has adopted as a basis for discussing Mchog gyur gling pa's visionary output.

We have seen that the vast majority of the Treasure revelations that Mchog gyur gling pa made public belong to the category of “actual earth Treasure that were destined for himself” (*rang skal sa gter dngos*). Nevertheless, he also revealed a small number of Treasures of the remaining three categories (rediscovered Treasure, actual mind Treasure,

and recollected Treasure). For the most part these have been listed in works already translated (Dargyay 1979; Dudjom 1991) but, since more details to the descriptions have been added here, they will be listed in the following as well.

III) Rediscovered Treasure:

According to Mkhyen brtse, there are two kinds of rediscovered Treasure: 1) Treasures that have been concealed by previous Treasure revealers and now are revealed either in actuality or through the power of blessing, and 2) Treasures that appear merely as a transmission. This latter form occurs in cases where the texts of previous revelations still remain but the transmissions of empowerment, reading, explanation and study have been cut ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 35.1). Mchog gyur gling pa revealed both of these two forms of rediscovered Treasure.

To the first category belongs the *Gur drag hūṃ dmar snying thig* that was revealed through the power of blessing as a Treasure of Sangs rgyas gling pa -- Mchog gyur gling pa's past existence.¹⁸⁸ Dkon mchog 'gyur med informs us that although many texts were revealed for this teaching they were unfortunately all lost later (Dkon mchog 1982: 257.1). Dkon mchog 'gyur med also mentions another set of revelations belonging to this category that are not reported by Mkhyen brtse; the cycles of the seven pacifying *Zhi byed* goddesses discovered at Sgrags yang rdzong. These Treasures had originally

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 35.2. Sources do not mention a time and place for this discovery.

belonged to the Treasure revealer Lha btsun sngon mo (eleventh century).¹⁸⁹ This revelation was the result of the combined efforts of Mchog gling and Mkhyen brtse with the yellow scroll discovered by Mchog gling who offered it to Mkhyen brtse for translation of the signs (Dkon mchog 1982: 256.3). The dual ownership of this revelation might be the reason for Mkhyen brtse not listing the *Zhi byed* cycle as Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasure. Interestingly, Kong sprul lists this Treasure as an the actual earth Treasure though not part of the thirty seven major Treasures ('Jam mgon 1976, vol. 1: 651.2). None of these sources give a time or date for revelation but the colophon for the Treasure text itself states that this was a secret revelation occurring some time in 1868 or early 1869 (a male dragon year).¹⁹⁰

Belonging to the second category of rediscovered Treasure is the cycle of *Ma rgyud gsang ba lam khyer*, which originally was revealed by the female Treasure revealer Mkha' 'gro ma kun dga' 'bum (thirteenth century) whose spiritual transmission now befell Mchog gyur gling pa.¹⁹¹ Dkon mchog 'gyur med, however, classifies this Treasure as a recollected Treasure and explains that Mchog gyur gling pa remembered this teaching from his past life as Dung mtsho ras pa the younger (thirteenth century) who was the chief lineage holder of the teachings of *Ma rgyud gsang ba lam khyer*.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ On Lha btsun sngon mo see 'Jam mgon 1976b: 409.2-410.5.

¹⁹⁰ Mchog gyur 1982h: 201.1. This cycle is found in vol. 33 of *The New Treasures*.

¹⁹¹ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 35.3. Neither Mkhyen brtse or Kong sprul provide details of the time and place for this revelation.

¹⁹² On Kun dga' 'bum see 'Jam mgon 1976b: 516.4-518.4. On Dung mtsho ras pa the younger see *Ibid*: 518.4-519.4. *Ma rgyud gsang ba lam khyer* is found in vol. 34 of *The New Treasures*.

Elsewhere Kong sprul explains the reason for this dual classification noting that Mchog gyur gling pa received this teaching twice as both a rediscovery and a recollection ('Jam mgon 1976b: 517.5).

IV) Actual Mind Treasure:

The only recorded Actual Mind Treasure is the cycle of *Sgrol ma'i zab tig* that was revealed on the basis of a vision in which the deity Tārā appeared and spoke to Mchog gyur gling pa ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 35.4). The hagiographies give no detail of time or place for this revelation but, in a longer commentary on this cycle, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul mentions that the revelation occurred while Mchog gyur gling pa sat in the Padma shel phug (Lotus Crystal Cave) of Smad shod dzam. It is said that in the early morning, Tārā appeared to him and whispered "*legs so, legs so, legs so*" (excellent, excellent, excellent) into his ear, which provoked the Treasure to "naturally burst forth from the expanse of realization." Later Mchog gling dictated the teaching to Mkhyen brtse who in turn passed it on to Kong sprul.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ 'Jam mgon 1982c: 368.3-369.2. Kong sprul provides no date for this revelation but a likely time seems January, 1857 around the time that he revealed the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* from the same cave (see earth Treasure no. 9). The texts of this cycle are found in vol. 33 of *The New Treasures*.

V) Recollected Treasure:

Having remembered his past existence as Gnubs khu lung pa yon tan rgya mtsho (eighth/ninth century) Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the Anuyoga instructions of *Lung rdo rje bkod pa* that had originally been taught by Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes (eighth/ninth century) and passed to Gnubs khu lung pa.¹⁹⁴

In a similar fashion Mchog gyur gling pa revealed the teaching of *Gnubs kyi kha po* together with four ways of reciting the *ru lu mantra* as well as many steps for sacred dances that he likewise recollected from his existence as Gnubs khu lung pa.¹⁹⁵

Remembering his past existence as Sangs rgyas gling pa, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed instructions on yogic exercise for the *Dgongs 'dus* cycle.¹⁹⁶ Dkon mchog 'gyur med further mentions that these revelations merely illustrate Mchog gyur gling pa's recollected Treasures and that many others were revealed without being propagated.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 35.6. No date and place are mentioned. Gnubs khu lung pa was the foremost student of Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes and the principal transmitter of the Anuyoga teachings propagated by Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes (Dargyay 1979: 42).

¹⁹⁵ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 36.1. No date and place are mentioned.

¹⁹⁶ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 36.2. No date and place are mentioned.

¹⁹⁷ Dkon mchog 1982: 260.1. However, no other recollected revelations are identified by name.

VI) Actual Pure Vision:

The most prominent of Mchog gyur gling pa's teachings received as actual pure vision is the *Vima'i bla sgrub*.¹⁹⁸ Mchog gyur gling pa received this teaching in the practice cave of Vimalamitra at Ri bo dbang zhu where Mchog gyur gling pa met the Indian paṇḍita who, dwelling in a sphere of light, offered him instruction.¹⁹⁹

Another lesser known pure vision teaching is a brief *sādhana* for meditation on Ge sar, the legendary Tibetan king. This text is not mentioned in any of the early sources but is included in the latest edition of *The New Treasures* following the *Vima'i bla sgrub*. The text itself does not directly identify itself as a pure vision teaching but rather states that it “burst forth from the expanse of realization of Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa.”²⁰⁰ Elsewhere, however, the contemporary master Dil mgo mkhyen brtse (1910-1991) mentions that this teaching indeed belongs to the pure vision category.²⁰¹ Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po also notes that apart from these two teachings many other visions appeared to Mchog gyur gling pa in which he saw various masters, deities, and syllables and heard the dharma being taught ('Jam dbyangs 1982a: 36.5-6).

¹⁹⁸ Kong sprul: *vimala'i zab thig* ('Jam mgon 1976b: 653: 4).

¹⁹⁹ 'Jam dbyangs 1982c: 36.4-5. Although Mkhyen brtse gives no date for this event we may assume that it happened together with the Treasure revelations of *Ri bo dbang zhu*, which would mean in 1854/1855 (see earth Treasure no. 5 above). This cycle is found in vol. 34 of *The New Treasures*.

²⁰⁰ “*Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa'i dgongs pa'i klong nas brdol*” (Mchog gyur 1982i: 380.2). This text is likewise found in vol. 34 of *The New Treasures*.

²⁰¹ Dil mgo 1982: 410. Note that even though this teaching as well as the *Vima'i bla sgrub* are classified as pure vision they are both marked with Treasure signs (*gter tshag*) that usually denote a text being Treasure.

VII) Hearing Lineage:

Mchog gyur gling pa is said to have visited Padmasambhava's celestial realm of the Copper Colored Mountain on several occasions. During these visionary journeys he reportedly received numerous oral instructions but the only recorded teaching is the *A ti zab don snying thig* that he received directly from Padmasambhava.²⁰² A detailed account of the first visit by Mchog gyur gling pa to the Copper Colored Mountain is given by Dkon mchog 'gyur med who retells Mchog gyur gling pa's description of the journey.²⁰³ The difference between the two divisions of pure vision (actual pure vision and hearing lineage) is subtle but Mkhyen brtse defines the two in the following manner: actual pure vision is a vision that, as a result of past aspirations combined with present auspicious circumstances, appears directly to the senses in the ordinarily perceived environment, while hearing lineage, on the other hand, involves either actual travel to the pure lands in a subtle body comprised of "wind mind" (*rlung sems*) or a complete cessation of the ordinary experience, in which buddhas and deities are met and their instructions are received ('Jam dbyangs 1982c: 36.3-4).

This completes the survey of the seven descents of dharma transmission that flowed through Mchog gyur gling pa as his spiritual heritage. As should be evident by now, the issue of authorship is not always determinable within a fixed schemata. This is

²⁰² 'Jam dbyangs 1982a: 37.1-3. This teaching is found in vol. 34 of *The New Treasures*.

²⁰³ Dkon mchog 1982: 101.5-142.5. For an English account of this and several others of Mchog gyur gling pa's visions see Tobgyal 1988: 27-31.

particularly true when Treasure teachings are traced back to a matrix of inspired personae acting in the world as conveyors of enlightened messages rather than as individual authors acting out of their own creative experience. Furthermore, as we have seen in the previous discussion, commentators have often classified teachings variously indicating that these systems of enumeration are illustrative rather than prescriptive. Besides the teachings listed within the seven descents *The New Treasures* contain a large number of additional texts that are attributed to Mchog gyur gling pa himself and not received as Treasure or in visions. These writings are found throughout *The New Treasures* and cover a wide variety of genres and topics. A common example of this type of writing is a rearrangement of the original Treasure material for the purpose of easy appropriation of the Treasure scriptures in a ritualized format. Other genres include descriptions of visions and Treasure revelations as well as commentaries on his Treasures and the three inner *yogas* in general. Finally, one last group of text needs to be mentioned: the *Sku gsum rigs 'dus zab tig* received by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse in a vision on December 7, 1870 shortly after the death of Mchog gyur gling pa (June 29, 1870). In this vision Mkhyen brtse perceived Mchog gyur gling pa to have taken birth in the Lotus Covered Realm (Padmas khebs pa'i zhing khams) as the bodhisattva Padma'i myu gu. In this form he appeared to Mkhyen brtse and bestowed on him empowerment and instruction. Mkhyen brtse later dictated these teachings to Kong sprul who put them into writing ('Jam mgon 1976b: 655.6-658.1). It is interesting to note that there exists the paradoxical situation that the attribution of a vast majority of teachings produced by Mchog gyur gling pa while he was alive was given to others while a teaching that emerged only after he had already passed away came to be seen as genuinely his. Such is, however, the nature of the

Treasure literature in its pronounced relativity of time and matter where “common” conventions are stretched and molded to fit the unique worldview of revelatory Buddhism.

Other Authors in The New Treasures

Although Mchog gyur gling pa was the dominant force behind the rituals and practices contained in *The New Treasures* a major factor for the success and renown of his revelations was the close relationship he enjoyed with some of the most outstanding masters of nineteenth century, especially ‘Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang po and ‘Jam mgon Kong sprul. The effect of these two outstanding masters on the formation and propagation of The New Treasures can hardly be overestimated. First of all, Mchog gyur gling pa counts these two masters as his foremost teachers responsible for introducing him to the secret Mantrayāna vehicle (Kong sprul) and the most profound and essential realization of the nature of mind (Mkhyen brtse) (see above note no. 110). The relationship of these three masters was, however, more than a traditional student-teacher connection. Not only did both Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul consider Mchog gling among their teachers treating him with respect and veneration; they also actively assisted him in his career lending him all the weight of their status and credibility. It was Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse who first recognized Mchog gling as a genuine Treasure revealer thus opening other peoples’ eyes to his revelations but, more significantly, both masters took active part in Mchog gling’s revelations – so much so that several of his Treasures were revealed through the collective effort of all three teachers. The information found in

the colophons of The New Treasures shows ample evidence of the close collaboration between the three masters. For example, no less than seventy four colophons mention Mchog gling and Mkhyen brtse working together either on the revelation or the establishment of a scripture while similar collaboration between Mchog gling and Kong sprul is mentioned on twenty three occasion.²⁰⁴ The nature of their partnership varies from text to text but typically involves Mchog gling revealing the Treasure and subsequently dictating it to either Mkhyen brtse or Kong sprul. Another, somewhat less common form of collaboration is Mchog gling revealing the yellow scroll and passing it on to Mkhyen brtse for both decoding and transcription. At times the colophons are elaborate and descriptive while at other times they may be left out altogether. The longer colophons often contain information such as authors, dates, places and circumstances that is useful for construing a chronological time-line of the career of Mchog gyur gling pa. The colophon for the Amitayus ritual of the *Zab pa skor bdun* cycle provides a good example of a typical colophon:

“The emanation of the prince and king, the great Treasure revealer, Mchog gyur gling pa revealed this red copper scroll in front of seven karmic friends in his twenty eighth year, at sun rise on the tenth day of the sixth month in the fire male dragon year at the upper practice cave at yel brag nam mkha mdzod in the middle of the Zal mo range in southern Mdo khams -- a site where the knower of the three times, the precious one from Oḍḍiyāna, meditated. Later that year, at the waning half of the eleventh

²⁰⁴ The information of titles, authors, places of revelation and writing, as well as Tibetan and Western dates are listed in Doctor 2002.

month on the perfect day of the festival when *dākinīs* gather, [the Treasure] was established and the scribe, ‘Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse’i dbang po kun dga’ bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan, a fortunate one who [enjoys] the nectar of the master’s speech, put it into writing. May the lotus feet of the supreme holders of the doctrine remain firm for a hundred aeons and may the profound Treasure teachings spread and increase in all directions, times, and circumstances and remain for long.”²⁰⁵

On several occasions all three masters collaborated on the revelation of Treasures, the most famous such event being the revelation of the *Rdzogs chen sde gsum* cycle (Tobgyal 1988: 14-15).²⁰⁶ There is little doubt that Mchog gyur gling pa’s affiliation with Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul was crucial for the recognition and prestige of his Treasures at a time when dubious claims of Treasure revelation abounded to the extent that large parts of the population seem to have been losing faith and interest in the

²⁰⁵ “lha sras rgyal po’i rnam par ‘phrul pa gter chen mchog gyur gling pas dgung lo nyer brgyad pa me pho ‘brug gi lo’i chu stod zla ba’i tshes bcu’i nyi shar la mdo khams lho zla zal mo sgang gi sa’i thig le dus gsum mkhyen pa o rgyan rin po che’i sgrub gnas yel brag nam mkha’ mdzod kyi sgrub phug gong ma nas las ldan gyi grogs bdun gyis mthon bar spyang drangs pa’i zangs shog dmar po’i ngos las lo de nyid kyi mgo zla ba’i mar phyogs mkha’ ‘gro ‘du ba’i dus chen nyin rdzogs par gtan la phabs pa’i yi ge pa ni rjes nyid kyi gsung gi bdud rtsis skal bzang du gyur pa ‘jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang po kun dga’ bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan gyis bris pa bstan ‘dzin mchog zhabs pad skal brgyar brtan cing zab gter gyi bstan pa phyogs dus gnas skabs thams cad du dar zhing rgyas la yun ring du gnas par gyur cig” (Mchog gyur 1982j: 267.1-268.4).

²⁰⁶ The catalogue of *The New Treasures* lists a collaborations of these three master on five additional occasions: PT GA 23, PT GA 32, PT A 27, PT KHI 1, and PT KHI 4 (Doctor 2002).

tradition as a whole.²⁰⁷ In spite of such troubled times for the revelatory tradition figures like Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul still commanded sufficient respect with the masses that the mere approval of Mchog gyur gling pa from their side was enough to provide him with instantaneous recognition. Therefore, once these two masters accepted Mchog gling as their spiritual teacher and actively assisted him in his work little else was needed for him to gain universal respect and acceptance. At the same time we have no reason to believe that Mchog gyur gling pa was not a charismatic and powerful master in his own right who, once endorsed by the established clergy, must have impressed his surroundings with his abundant public display of super natural powers. Considering the effort that Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul invested in assisting Mchog gyur gling pa we may also assume that their words of praise would have come from the heart as these two masters were already well-established religious figures and would have nothing to gain by lending their support to Mchog gyur gling pa's career. Their efforts in propagating *The New Treasures* clearly go beyond mere political courtesy and apart from Mchog gling himself Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul are the two most prolific contributors to this collection.²⁰⁸

The list of further authors contributing to *The New Treasures* is long and counts some of the most prominent recent masters of the Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma schools such as both the fourteenth and fifteenth Karma pa hierarchs Theg mchog rdo rje (1799-

²⁰⁷ Cf. Mi pham's above comments on this matter.

²⁰⁸ Mkhyen brtse authored more than forty individual texts for *The New Treasures* while Kong sprul composed more than one hundred and thirty individual commentaries and ritual arrangements (Doctor 2002). These numbers do not include collaborations with Mchog gyur gling pa listed above.

1864) and Mkha' khyab rdo rje (1871-1922), Zla bzang sprul sku karma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas, Mchog gyur gling pa's two sons Kun bzang 'gyur med tshe dbang grags pa (the principal lineage holder, also known as Dbang mchog rdo rje) and Kun bzang 'jigs med tshe dbang nor bu, a number of the subsequent Mchog gling reincarnations, Dil mgo mkhyen brtse (1910-1991), and many others.²⁰⁹ Judging from the list of authors alone, we can see that *The New Treasures* almost immediately gained a prominent following among both Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma lineages that further contributed to its acceptance and spread among the followers of these schools. In particular, because of the propagation of Kong sprul and the Karma pa hierarchs *The New Treasures* became popular within the Karma bka' brgyud school, which up to this day includes several of Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasures in its schedule of meditative rituals.²¹⁰

From Mchog gyur gling pa *The New Treasures* have been transmitted in two lineages; a family lineage (*rigs brgyud*) and a dharmic lineage (*chos brgyud*). The family lineage (as well as the reincarnations of the Mchog gyur gling pa incarnations) has already been discussed in some detail by Urgyen Tobgyal (1988: 37-60) and Tulku Urgyen in his commentary on the lineage-supplication to the masters of *The New Treasures*.²¹¹ The masters identified in this supplication as the primary holders of Mchog

²⁰⁹ As Smith 2001: 258 points out, the common Tibetan praxis of a single author writing under a plethora of names makes the task of reliably identifying authors a challenging enterprise. In the colophons to *The New Treasures*, for example, we find no less than two hundred and ninety different names or name variations referring to no more than forty authors (Doctor 2002).

²¹⁰ Among others the *zab bdun phur pa* (see below) and *gsang thig phur pa* cycles (Zangpo 1994: 117).

²¹¹ Urgyen 2000. This supplication was composed by Mchog gyur gling pa's grand son Gter sras sprul sku with later additions by Dil mgo mkhyen brtse.

gyur gling pa's teachings are: 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, Mkha' khyab rdo rje, Tshe dbang grags pa,²¹² Tshe dbang nor bu, Mkhan po rin chen dar rgyas, Chos mchog rin po che, Bde chen chos sgron (Mchog gyur gling pa's consort), Dkon mchog dpal sgron, (Mchog gyur gling pa's daughter), Bsam gtan rgya mtsho, 'Chi med rdo rje, Karma gsang sngags, Gter sras sprul sku,²¹³ Dil mgo mkhyen brtse, and Tulku Urgyen. Even though these masters are the primary lineage holders for Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasures *in toto* extant catalogues of transmission (*thob yig / gsan yig*) for Mchog gyur gling pa's individual Treasures make it clear that distinct lineages for each Treasure revelation flourished before a uniform collection was compiled by the second Mchog gling incarnation of the Ke la lineage, Dkon mchog 'gyur med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, who commissioned the woodblocks for a first edition of *The New Treasures*.²¹⁴ With Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasures gathered into a single body the various lineages were united and subsequently passed down as a collection considerably easing the task of tracing the genealogy of Mchog gyur gling pa's tradition. This concludes our survey of Mchog gyur gling pa's Treasures and the major features of his life and tradition. A presentation of Mchog gyur gling pa's legacy would, however, be

²¹² Dates for Tshe dbang grags pa and the following lineage holders are unknown.

²¹³ These four were the sons of Dkon mchog dpal sgron.

²¹⁴ Not only do lineages differ in terms of the lineage holders subsequent to Mchog gyur gling pa; they also differ on the transmission *prior* to his lifetime. Some lineages originate with the *dharmakāya* buddha Samantabhadra, while others are traced to Amitābha or another buddha within the *dharmakāya* pantheon. I am indebted to Erik Schmidt for generously sharing with me three rare and unpublished catalogues of transmission compiled on the occasion of *The New Treasures* being transmitted from Tulku Urgyen to the sixteenth Karma pa.

incomplete without a presentation of the Treasure literature that forms the heart of his activity. The sheer multiplicity of literary genres found in *The New Treasures* prevents a complete presentation of this rich and varied literature but in the following three texts representative of central genres of Treasure literature will be presented together with their edited Tibetan text versions. Apart from their individuality in representing distinct types of Treasure literature these texts all share a common topical theme that often has been misunderstood and misinterpreted; the so-called wrathful practices of tantric Buddhism here exemplified by the deity Vajrakīlaya as it is presented in the *Zab pa skor bdun* revelation of Mchog gyur gling pa. In presenting these translations it is hoped that they will help shed light on the extraordinary practices of wrathful tantric literature and the interpretations given to such texts in the late Tibetan context.

Part III: Translations from the *Zab bdun phur pa* Treasure Cycle

Introduction to the Translations

The deity Vajrakīlaya resides at the heart of the meditational practices of the Ancient School. Here, Vajrakīlaya is renowned as the personal deity (*yi dam*) of Padmasambhava and considered among the most efficacious deities for a swift attainment of enlightenment and, in particular, the destruction of obstacles preventing this goal. In this capacity Vajrakīlaya has come to occupy a central role in the Mahāyoga pantheon of both the Treasure tradition and the older system of Transmitted Precepts (*bka' ma*). Vajrakīlaya is, however, not exclusively a Mahāyoga deity but is practiced in all three inner tantric divisions (*nang rgyud sde gsum*) of the Ancient School. The origins and history of this deity still remain unclear but the last decade has witnessed much new information being brought to light. Most notably, the Indian roots for this deity seem no longer in doubt.²¹⁵ In Tibet the practice of Vajrakīlaya was mainly a matter for the Rnying ma and Sa skya schools but over time this deity gained acceptance within all four major Tibetan Buddhist schools.²¹⁶ In the remainder of this thesis three translations from

²¹⁵ Boord 1993 has demonstrated roots for Vajrakīlaya practice in Indian scriptures such as the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, where the fully developed Vajrakīlaya *mantra* is found and the *Guhyasamājatantra* that devotes half a chapter to kīla ritual (57-60). Recently, Boord 2002 has published an annotated translation of the *phur 'grel 'bum nag*, the most influential Vajrakīlaya commentary within the tradition of Transmitted Precepts. This publication includes further textual evidence supporting Vajrakīlaya's Indian origin (note that Boord argues for Vajrakīla as the deity's name). Mayer 1991 and 1996 also present historical arguments supporting Indian roots. See also Smith 2001: 238-239.

²¹⁶ Although the early patrons of Vajrakīlaya practice were the Rnying ma and Sa skya schools the Bka' brgyud and Dge lugs schools likewise adopted this deity into their pantheon. For the Dge lugs school it was the interest of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) in the Byang gter tradition that paved way for their

Mchog gyur gling pa's *Zab bdun phur pa* revelation will be presented together with their edited Tibetan versions. Their function in this thesis is to exemplify key genres of Treasure literature and to illustrate integral elements in the literary structure of a Treasure cycle. To this end three texts have been selected that, while being intimately connected in a single practice, individually demonstrate unique genres of Treasure literature.

Mchog gyur gling pa revealed three separate Vajrakīlaya cycles corresponding to the three sections of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga. The texts presented here belong to the Mahāyoga practice of the *Zab bdun phur pa* cycle.²¹⁷ This cycle in turn belongs to the larger collection of the *Zab pa skor bdun* (*Seven Profound Cycles*) that Mchog gyur gling pa revealed at Karma'i dam chen brag on May 19, 1856.²¹⁸ The *Zab bdun phur pa* practice is arranged as the fifth of the seven cycles. Among all the Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa this particular practice has become one of one of the most widely practiced, especially within the Bka' brgyud school where *Zab bdun phur pa* rituals has become an important part of the yearly ceremonial schedule.²¹⁹

adoption of Vajrakīlaya (Boord 1993: 31-32) while the Bka' brgyud school has had a longer, though perhaps less official, affiliation with Vajrakīlaya practice from the frequent overlap of masters in the Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma traditions.

²¹⁷ The Anuyoga cycle is *Lung lugs thugs kyi phur gcig* (Chokgyur 1982a, vol. 20: 275-321) while the Atiyoga cycle is *Rdo rje gzhon nu phyag rgya gcig pa* from the *Gsang thig snying po* Treasure (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 30: 35-157).

²¹⁸ See the above description of Mchog gyur gling pa's sixth earth Treasure.

²¹⁹ Until the Chinese take-over of Tibet this Treasure was practiced as a "Great Accomplishment" (*grub chen*) at the Karma pa's seat in Mtshur pu. Since then the practice has been continued by Tibetans in exile at the Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim. This monastery has even produced its own woodblock edition of the

Although the *Zab bdun phur pa* cycle as it is contained within the latest version of *The New Treasures* contains altogether thirty two individual texts covering over 1000 pages (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 17: 71-569; vol. 18: 1-512) the main Treasure text (*gter zhung*) originally revealed by Mchog gyur gling pa as the foundation for this practice is relatively brief (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 17: 71-204). The remainder of texts in the cycle are of a wide variety of genres all fulfilling a distinct purpose relevant for the appropriation of the core Treasure. This includes aspects of the practice that are not developed in the main Treasure scripture, such as a prayer to the lineage of *Zab bdun phur pa*, or various explanatory scriptures intended to initiate the devotee into the practice presented by Padmasambhava in the original Treasure. Finally, several texts have been extracted from the main Treasure text for the purpose of easy use and access and now appear as distinct works on their own.²²⁰

The texts translated here belong to three interrelated classes of Treasure literature that exemplify the development and interpretation that a Treasure undergoes as it passes through various stages of assimilation and appropriation by the religious community. The first two texts belong to the core Treasure text while the third represents the commentarial tradition. As we have already noted, according to the tradition, the Treasures do not originate in the Treasure revealer nor in Padmasambhava but a buddha

cycle (Mchog gyur 1972). The *Zab bdun phur pa* ritual is also presently practiced as a yearly event at the Benchen and Ka-Nying Shedrup Ling Monasteries in the Kathmandu valley. In those monasteries the *Zab bdun phur pa* ritual is the final ritual event of the year aimed at expelling negativities before beginning the new year.

²²⁰ See further in the appendix.

in a realm beyond time and place. The first text translated here is an example of such a teaching first taught by an enlightened being. It is called *The Sacred Tantra of the Great Purpose of the Four Kīlas* and its authorship is credited to none other than Buddha Vajrakīlaya.²²¹ In this *tantra* Vajrakīlaya, surrounded by a retinue that he himself has emanated, teaches in a language highly charged with symbols displaying the characteristic semiotic ambiguity of tantric literature.²²² In the colophon of the *tantra* Padmasambhava mentions that it belongs to the famed *Vidyottamatantra* from which Padmasambhava extracted this essential teaching. Even though (or perhaps because) the text in this way has prominent origins in the much hailed (and obscure) *Vidyottamatantra* collection, it is directly approachable only by someone of the highest spiritual caliber as the meditation techniques taught in this *tantra* merely are implicitly expressed in its abstract symbolic language. It is therefore necessary that the Treasure undergoes some form of transformation before it can function as a means for salvation for an ordinary practitioner. In this hermeneutic metamorphosis the importance of Padmasambhava crystallizes as, not only is he the one who transmits and conceals the original tantric

²²¹ *Phur bzhi don chen dam pa'i brgyud* (Mchog gyur 1982k: 71-76).

²²² Originally I had translated this *tantra* in its entirety but later decided to exclude chapters 2, 3 and 4. In making this choice I was influenced by the fact that these chapters deal with esoteric topics that traditionally have been kept in relatively closed circulation. As I wish to remain respectful to that tradition and since the main purpose for presenting the *tantra* in this thesis (to illustrate the origin of the teaching and its relation to the figure of Padmasambhava) seemed to be accomplished without publishing chapters 2-4 I decided to omit these chapters. For the reader of Tibetan, I have however, included the Tibetan text in its entirety in Part IV.

scripture, but he also composes the method by which an ordinary practitioner can bring its message into an actual experience -- the ritual for the attainment (*sādhana*) of Vajrakīlaya. In the root Treasure text Padmasambhava includes this ritual in an abridged form that allows the aspiring practitioner to assume the identity of Vajrakīlaya through a series of visualizations that transform the experience of the devotee into a direct perception of enlightenment as formulated in the Mahāyoga scriptures. The genre of *sādhana* literature therefore constitutes an important branch of Treasure literature as it represents the direct means for achieving the state of awakening. In the cycle of *Zab bdun phur pa* the *sādhana* text is called *The Practice Manual of Combined Activity*,²²³ and is the second text presented in translation. Finally, the last, and longest, of the three texts translated is a commentary on Padmasambhava's *sādhana* explaining the way to practically engage with the prescribed ritual. As such, this commentary is not a Treasure and does not claim ancient roots. It is entitled *The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders -- Clearly Arranged Deity Guidance for the Single Form of the Most Secret Kīla of Mind*²²⁴ and was composed by Tsha ba bhan dhe karma rin chen nam rgyal (nineteenth century), a close student of Mchog gyur gling pa.²²⁵ In this text Rin chen nam rgyal elaborates on the many visualizations that only implicitly are contained in

²²³ *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig las las byang phrin las 'dus pa* (Mchog gyur 1982k: 86.6-93.5; 1982l).

²²⁴ *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi lha khrid gsal bar bkod pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i shal lung* (Tsha ba 1982).

²²⁵ Unfortunately little is known about Rin chen nam rgyal. Although *The New Treasures* contain several texts authored by him I have not been able to find much personal data regarding his person. Besides this *Zab bdun phur pa* commentary his most famous works include a commentary on the deity Sma ba'i seng ge (Mchog gyur 1982a, vol. 39: 489-516) and a commentary on the *Gsang ba snying po tantra* (Tsha ba 1984).

Padmasambhava's Vajrakīlaya *sādhana*. Although this ritual generally is classified as a “wrathful” (*khro bo*) practice, Rin chen nam rgyal's commentary demonstrates how the sanguinary rituals described in many Vajrakīlaya scriptures cannot be seen in isolation from the peaceful achievement of enlightenment.²²⁶ In this way the three texts translated here represent three distinct genres of Treasure literature that exemplify the way in which the intent of enlightenment is processed from its raw form in the original *tantra*, through the skilled interpolation of Padmasambhava that bridges the transcendent and the worldly, into the practical pedagogy of explaining the actual application of the ritual to the ordinary devotee in search of enlightenment. It is hoped that these translations will cast light not only on the tradition of Vajrakīlaya but the un-chartered territories of Treasure hermeneutics as well.

²²⁶ The practice of Vajrakīlaya is divided into “higher activities” (*stod las*) that are aimed at achieving enlightenment and “lower activities” (*smad las*) that are aimed at liberating enemies and demons (See Boord 1993; 2002). In these scriptures it is repeatedly stressed that the lower activities can only be performed by someone who has achieved great mastery of the higher activities. For this reason the common devotee of the Vajrakīlaya is likely to abide exclusively within the rituals of the higher activity and leave aside the wrathful rituals prescribed in the lower activities. This understanding is clearly exemplified in Rin chen nam rgyal's commentary where the lower activities hardly receive mention while the higher activities are explained in detail “in a manner that is easy to read and apply to ones own being” and so is ideally suited to the needs and abilities of the common devotee.

Notes for the Translations and the Tibetan Texts

The following translations are based on new editions (found in Part IV) that I have produced from the original Treasure texts. They were mainly created based on the most recent edition of *The New Treasures* (Mchog gyur 1982a). Regarding *The Sacred Tantra of the Great Meaning of the Four Kilas* and *The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders* this was the only edition available and so the editorial changes to these two texts have been made on the basis of my own and my Tibetan teachers' judgment and not through comparative textual studies.²²⁷ In the case of *The Practice Manual of Combined Activity* fortunately two copies were available (Mchog gyur 1982k: 86.6-93.5; 1982l), which facilitated a reliable reading. In general it has been attempted to render all terminology into English. However, when English terms did not seem to accurately express the meaning of specialized Buddhist terminology I have opted to use the corresponding Sanskrit term. Whenever the original Tibetan texts use Sanskrit terminology these words have been left in Sanskrit.

²²⁷ All such changes are marked in the footnotes.

[71]²²⁸ **The Sacred *Tantra* of the Great Purpose for the Four *Kīlas*: The Root Section of the *Tantra* of the Single Form of the Most Secret *Kīla* of Mind**

[72] Śrī Vajrakumārāya namo.

The one who in the perfect language is called Youthful Vajra arose from *dharmadhātu* in the form of wrathful compassion. His terrifying [main] face was dark blue, his right [face] white and the left one red. In a terrifying dance he brandished nine- and five-pronged *vajras*, a mass of fire, a *khaṭvāṅga*, and a *kīla*. His infuriated body was adorned with the eight charnel ground ornaments, his wings were spread, and his four legs apart. He appeared in the desire realm, like a bolt of lightning, and liberated Rudra of the desire realm. He blessed the *skandhas* to be a charnel ground palace and resided within it without moving. He then spoke these words:

“HŪṂ

The supremely secret [73] essence of mind,

The blissful *vajra* of permanent purity,

Is planted in the space of the primordially pure all-ground.

I am indivisible space and awareness.

OM VAJRAKĪLI KĪLAYA HŪṂ PHATṬ”

²²⁸ Page numbers refer to Mchog gyur 1982k (see also part IV).

Having thus spoken, all intelligent people were liberated into the state of unified space and wisdom. This was the first chapter teaching the *kīla* of primordially pure awareness from *The Sacred Tantra of the Great Meaning of the Four Kīlas*.

[The following three chapters (pp. 73-76) consist of equally brief instructions given by Vajrakīlaya on the nature of the *kīla* of the drop of great bliss, the rescue rope of loving compassion, and the final perfection of the material *kīla*. Then the text concludes:]

Samaya. Seal. Seal. Seal.

In this way, I Padma, up to now have used this *tantra* of the four *kīlas*, which is the root section of the hundred thousand sections of the *Vidyottama[tantra]*, as a splendid waist amulet. Now, for the benefit of future generations it is placed and hidden as a terrifying Treasure. May it meet with a worthy being. Profound Seal. Strict seal. Treasure Seal. Hidden Seal. Secret Seal. Secret Seal.

Seal. Seal. Seal.

[213]²²⁹ The Practice Manual of Combined Activity – From the Single Kīla of Innermost Mind

[214] Śrī Vajrakumāra namo,

Having assumed the form as the Youthful Vajra,

Arising from the essential wisdom space,

[Here] is the combined activity -- the condensed essential meaning

Of the hundred thousand sections of the *Vidyottama[tantra]*.

For this there are preliminaries, main part, and conclusion.

The preliminaries [consist of] preparations and gathering the accumulations.

First, in a secluded and pure place,

Arrange the supports of enlightened body, speech and mind.

Erect the *maṇḍala* and arrange the practice materials.

Arrange the outer, inner and secret offerings.

The *yogins* should [then] take a pleasant seat.

²²⁹ Page numbers refer to Mchog gyur 1982l (see also part IV).

Secondly, make offerings to the local lords,

And visualize the conquerors of the ten directions in front of you.

Take refuge, arouse the enlightened attitude and offer the seven branches.

Issue the command, establish the boundaries and make symbolic salutations.

Perform the apologies of body, speech and mind.

Make the pledge to practice and bring down great resplendence.

[215] [Then] consecrate the offering articles.

These should be studied as they appear in the general outlines.

Secondly, the main part of the three *samādhis*:

HŪM

Vajra wrath cuts through aggression.

The blazing blue weapon,

Arises as a drop in the middle of space.

DHARMADHĀTU ŚUDDHE ĀḤ

MAHĀ SUKHA ĀTMAKO 'HAṀ BODHICITTA HŪṀ

E YAṀ RA SUṀ KEṀ RAṀ HŪṀ TI BAṀ HA BHRŪṀ

HŪṀ

The great elements descend from space -

The all-pervading sky, the wind of great force,

The ocean of blood, the outstretched ground of human [skin],

And Mount Sumeru made of skeletons blazing in a great fire.

From HŪṀ [appears] the great protective dome

And the supremely terrifying charnel ground.

[216] In the middle of the area, on a multicolored lotus and a *vajra* cross,

Is a BHRŪṀ from which the charnel ground palace appears.

Outwardly it is adorned with precious stones.

Inwardly it is resplendent with charnel ground ornaments.

Vajrarati is the vajra rock.

From BHRŪṂ [appears] the blazing jewel seat.

On a throne of the suppressed great gods who guard the directions,

Are the sun and moon of means and knowledge and a lotus.

Centered thereon is a HŪṂ from whose emanation and absorption [appears]:

OM VAJRAKĪLI KĪLAYA SARVAVIGHNĀN BAṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ

From the state of basic space of phenomena,

The overwhelming Blazing Wrathful One [is present].

He is deep blue with a white face to the right and a red to the left.

His hair is tied on top of his head and has a *vajra* top-ornament.

He is adorned with dry skulls and jewel crest ornaments.

The upper [arms] display a nine pronged [*vajra*] and the threatening posture,

The middle [arms] wave a five pronged [*vajra*] and a trident,

And the lower [arms] roll the *kīla* of the central mountain.

His four feet suppress Mahādeva and Mahādevī.

With his wings out-stretched and in the charnel ground attire he is fearsome.

The mighty consort is Dīptacakra,

Who embraces [the lord] and offers him an utpala flower and a blood-filled skull.

They dwell in a sphere of flaming fires

And *kīla saccas* shoot out like stars.

Inside a dome of light in his heart center

Is Vajrasattva the size of a finger joint.

In whose heart center, on a jewel, sun and moon,

Is a *vajra* with a blue HŪM in its center.

On the sun, visualize the nine unmoving syllables.

[217] Hayagrīva protects holding a lotus.

Ten *bodhicitta* HŪṂ syllables from the passion,

of the union of the secret *vajra*

And lotus of the lord and consort

Radiate upwards, downwards and in-between.

Thereby [appears] in Zenith Hūmkāra and Resounding [Vajra],²³⁰

[Together with] the Pig and Lizard headed emanations.

In the East are Krodhavijaya and Haughty [Vajra]²³¹

[Together with] the Tiger and Vulture headed emanations.

In the South-East are Nīladaṇḍa and [Vajra] Claw,²³²

[Together with] the Yak and Crow headed emanations.

In the Southern direction are Yamāntaka and the Lady of the Charnel Ground,²³³

²³⁰ [Rdo rje] sgra 'byin (*Śābdavajra).

²³¹ [Rdo rje] snyems ma.

²³² Rdo rje sder mo.

²³³ Dur khrod bdag mo (*Śmaśānikā).

[Together with] the Deer and Owl headed emanations.

In the South-West are Acala and [Vajra] Mortar,²³⁴

[Together with] the Leopard and Raven headed emanations.

In the Western direction are Hayagrīva and Fierce [Vajra],²³⁵

[Together with] the Cat and Hoopoe Bird headed emanations.

In the North-West are Aparājita and Haughty Arrow [Vajra],²³⁶

[Together with] the Wolf and Hawk headed emanations.

In the North are Amṛtakunḍalin and Wind Releasing [Vajra],²³⁷

[Together with] the Lion and Bat headed emanations.

In the North-East are Trailokyavijaya and [Vajra] Killer,²³⁸

²³⁴ Rdo rje gtun khung (*Vajramūśikā).

²³⁵ Rdo rje gtum mo (*Vajracandāli).

²³⁶ Rdo rje mda' snyems

²³⁷ [Rdo rje] rlung 'byin ma (*Vāyuvegā).

²³⁸ [Rdo rje] gsod byed [ma].

[Together with] the Hyena and Weasel headed emanations.

In the Nadir are Mahābala and [Vajra] Exhortation,²³⁹

[Together with] the Brown Bear and Rat headed emanations.

All the great emanated wrathful lords and consorts,

Have three faces, six arms and hurl weapons,

Possess the eight charnel ground ornaments and dwell in a sphere of fire,

And are visualized as brightly as the fire [ending] an aeon.

[218] Inside a crescent are the emanated sons.

Their upper body is wrathful and frightening,

And the lower body is the blazing blade of a *kīla*.

Amidst a heap of fire they shoot out like stars.

At the four gates are the four emanated wrathful females

And outside gatherings of oath bound beings are visualized.

²³⁹ [Rdo rje] bskul [byed] ma.

OM VAJRA KĪLI KĪLAYA SARVAVIGHNĀN BAṂ HŪM PHAT

HŪM

In this great *samaya maṇḍala*,

The primordially pure enlightened body, speech and mind,

Are blessed and empowered,

As the identity of the five wisdoms.

OM ĀḤ HŪM OM HŪM TRĀṂ HRĪḤ ĀḤ OM VAJRA KĪLI KĪLAYA
SAPARIVĀRA VAJRA SAMĀJAḤ

HŪM

Deities of Vajrakīlaya of Existence!

From the pure realm of the basic space of phenomena

Consider this *samaya maṇḍala*

And fulfill it as a wisdom *maṇḍala*!

VAJRA SAMĀJAḤ

Imagine the wisdom *maṇḍala* has arrived before you.

HŪṂ

To this *maṇḍala* of the *kīla* of Existence,

Wrathful Wisdom, please arrive!

Wrathful Wisdom, when you arrive,

Manifest the signs and marks

And grant the accomplishments of Kīlaya.

OM VAJRAKĪLI KĪLAYA SAPARIVĀRA VAJRA SAMĀJAḤ JAḤ HŪṂ
VAM HOḤ

HŪṂ

Gatherings of divine glorious *herukas*!

Please delight and take your seat

In this palace of the utterly terrifying charnel ground

[219] On a cushion of suppressed Rudra

SAMAYA TIṢṬHA LHAN

HŪṂ

To the gatherings of *herukas*,

Who manifest in form from the basic space of phenomena,

Dancing with a devoted attitude,

I pay homage with the dancing posture.

ATI PŪ HOḤ PRATIŚA PŪ HOḤ

HŪṂ

The flowers, incense, lights, perfume,

Food, and sound of bone trumpets and skull drums

That arise from the liberation of Rudra

I offer to the gathering of *herukas*.

MAHĀ PUSHPE DHUPE ĀLOKE GHANDHE NAIBIḌYA ŚABDA PŪJĀ

HOḤ

HŪṂ

The great flesh of liberated dullness

And the great blood of liberated desire

Together with the great bones of liberated anger,

I offer to the Great Glorious One and his retinue.

MAHĀMĀṂSA RAKTA KIṂ NI RI TI KHĀHI

The self-existing, primordially pure substance

Is the medicine applied to the eight thousand channels.

The substance that perfects the five wisdoms

I offer to the gathering of *herukas*.

SARVA PANCA AMṚTA KHĀHI

Combine the words and the meaning and receive the accomplishments.

The *yogin* visualizes the HŪṂ

On the *samaya vajra* of the tongue

And receives the accomplishments with OM ĀḤ HŪṢ.

By dissolving into the tongue they become supreme attainment.

SARVA SIDDHI HŪṢ

HŪṢ

Rudra is liberated in the vessel of the human skull.

The deep red [220] waves wash through the sky.

This *rakta* that empties *saṃsāra*

I offer to the Great Glorious One and his retinue.

MAHĀ RAKTA KHĀHI

HŪṢ

Inside the vessel of the blazing *bhanda*,

Is the *balingta* of the liberated threefold existence.

This glorious great *bali*

I offer to the gathering of *herukas*.

MAHĀ BALINGTA KHĀHI

HŪṂ

The expanse of the *bhaga* of the *dharmadhātu* consort

Is opened by the *vajra* through the method of great bliss.

This empty bliss free from meeting and parting,

I offer to the Great Glorious One and his retinue.

MAHĀMUDRĀ BHAÑJA MOKSHA PŪJĀ HOḤ

HŪṂ

The obstructing spirits who create obstacles for me,

Whether they are gods or demons,

Are liberated in the great *maṇḍala* of the E

And offered as food to the Great Glorious One and his retinue.

MAHĀ RUDRA KHA HI

[Sing the following] in a fearsome tune [accompanied] by cymbals:

HŪṂ

Their wisdom body is ablaze with majestic brilliance.

Their speech of empty sound moves the world.

Their compassionate mind liberates the one billion [worlds].

I salute and praise the *herukas*.

The Ten Great Wrathful Ones liberate the ten unvirtuous actions.

The consorts arise from the ten *pāramitās*.

The gatherings of Eaters and Killers are bodily emanations of means and knowledge.

I salute and praise the deities of the ten directions.

Killing while not being suppressed

[221] Is done in order to liberate with the means of compassion.

I salute and praise the Supreme Sons

Of Kīlaya who embodies compassion.

In front of the Glorious One the four female gate keepers

Took the pledge of the four boundless [contemplations].

The gathering of messengers protect the outer perimeter.

I salute and praise them in order to accomplish the activities.

Now follows the stages of the recitation:

OM VAJRA KĪLI KĪLAYA HŪṂ PHAT

The essence of the general wrathful [recitation] is:

OM VAJRA KĪLI KĪLAYA SARVAVIGHNĀN BAṂ HŪṂ PHAT

At times, perform praises and offerings of recitation.

The ensuing activities are: the feast, the amendment,

Enjoying the liberation offering, giving residuals,

Requesting, issuing commands, nurturing the Brtan ma goddesses,

[Performing] dances, summoning life, and completion by offerings and praises.

[Then], arise as the deity, make aspirations, and benedictions,

And [perform] the daily activities according to the general outlines [for practice].

At the Karma Vow-holders' Rock the incarnated great Treasure revealer Mchog gyur gling pa revealed a meteorite *kīla* chest, [marked with] a triangular seal. Inside was an iron [plate] inscription in the handwriting of the guru containing this wonderful arrangement. The scribe for the proper decoding was Prajñā Dhvaja.

**[187]²⁴⁰ The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders -- Clearly Arranged Deity
Guidance for the Single Form of the Most Secret *Kīla* of Mind**

[188] Namo śrī guru vajrasattvaye,²⁴¹

Inseparable bliss and emptiness -- Guru Vajrasattva -

Arises in the blazing form of Vajrakumāra.

To the lord, the consort, and the offspring, together with the emanated retinue,

I bow down with devotion -- bestow your permission, power and capacity.

The clouds of compassion make the sprout of enlightenment grow.

Vajra rain destroys dualistic thought.

The intensity of the [fire at] the final age burns the hordes of vicious enemies.

This instruction of the knowledge holders, the ritual guidance

To the Great Glorious Heruka who is the embodiment of activity,

Should be applied with delight by those fortunate ones seeking liberation.

²⁴⁰ Page numbers refer to Tsha ba 1982 (see also part IV).

²⁴¹ Vajrasattvaya?

That is, one should meditate on the *samādhi* of the great glorious Vajrakumāra that accomplishes, in this very life, the identity of the four *kāyas* and the five wisdoms, the state of the pervasive lord Vajrasattva, thoroughly eliminates all obstacles of the levels and paths, and combines the activity of all *sugatas*. Regarding this, among the limitless *tantras* and *sādhana*s in existence, here [is presented] the essence of the ocean-like profound teachings revealed as Treasure by Mchog ‘gyur bde chen Zhig po gling pa phrin las ‘gro ‘dul rtsal [189] who is a protector of the dharma and all beings, the crown jewel of all learned and accomplished ones, and the universal monarch of all the incarnated great Treasure revealers. Within the divisions of The Seven Profound Cycles [containing] the realization of the accomplished Padmasambhava, the [cycle of] profound activity is the Single Form of the Most Secret *Kīla* of Mind. When clearly arranging the gradual instructions there are three [main headings]:

1. [The *yoga* of] the body that is formed.
2. [The *yoga* of] the speech that is recited.
3. The *yoga* of the mind in *samādhi*.

The first [of these divisions contains] three [further divisions]:

1.1 Clear Appearance

1.2 Recollection of purity

1.3 Stable Pride

1.1.1 In the first of these three [divisions] the foundation is laid with the three *samādhis*.

1.1.1.1 The *Samādhi* of Suchness is to train in the equality that the unborn *vajra* of *dharmatā* outwardly destroys all conceptual thoughts and inwardly cannot be destroyed by anything whatsoever and that all phenomena [and] objects are empty and without self.

1.1.1.2 In the All-Illuminating [*Samādhi*] one is moved by the power of compassion towards the [beings in] *samsāra* who do not realize the suchness of the ultimate [truth] and cuts the karmic continuity of disturbing emotions, headed by anger, with seemingly wrathful awareness-wisdom. [190]

1.1.1.3 [In the Seed *Samādhi*] the seed is a radiant great blue letter HŪṂ arising from space in the form of a self-existing sphere that symbolizes this kind of indivisible emptiness and compassion. Then [follows] gradually: DHARMADHĀTU ŚUDDHE ĀḤ [representing] the basic space of phenomena, the perfectly pure *dharmatā* beyond mental constructs, the primordial basic space as it is, the *maṇḍala* of Samantabhadrī. MAHĀ SUKHA ĀTMAKO 'HAM [represents] the identity of the means of great bliss, spontaneously present wisdom, the *maṇḍala* of Samantabhadra. BODHICITTA HŪṂ [represents] the Great Bliss Son of non-dual bliss and emptiness, the root *maṇḍala* of the awakened attitude. From the HŪṂ seed syllable radiate the gradually piled elements, the palace and the seats that support as well as the creation of the deities that are supported.

1.1.1.3.1 The first of these [are the supporting gradually piled elements, palace and seat]: From the seed syllable radiates a dark blue E, from which the all-pervading

dark blue space [arises as] a triangle of infinite dimensions. On top of that is a dark green YAM, from which the forceful wind *maṇḍala* [arises] in the shape of a cross, equal [in size] to the limits of the million-fold universe. On this is a dark red RA syllable, from which the red ocean of blood [appears] round and swirling. On top of that is a dark yellow SUM, from which [appears] the square ground of an outstretched human skin. [191] On top of that is a blue KEM from which [appears] the four levels of the Sumeru mountain made of stacked skeletons. From a red RAM [appears] a blazing mass of fire of the five wisdoms. In the middle of this a protection dome containing the five kinds of weapons [appears] from a blue [letter] HŪM. Inside [the protection dome] is a ten spoked wheel on which are the ten wrathful ones such as Hūmkāra and the gatherings of wrathful emanations who fill the entire space swirling their weapons. Within this, from a pink [letter] TI, the eight great charnel grounds [appear]. According to the *Gal po tantra*²⁴² they are:

Śītavana (The Cool Grove) and Sku la rdzogs (Perfection in Form),

He chen rol (Play of Great Bliss) and Gsang chen rol (Play of the Great Secret),

Padma brtsegs (Lotus Mound) and Ya ma kha,

Khu byug klong (Expanse of the Cuckoo Bird) and Mngon rdzogs (Complete perfection).

²⁴² The *Gal po tantra* is one on the eighteen Mahāyoga *tantras*. This *tantra* is also known as *Rig sngags spyi'i sgrub lugs kyi rgyud* (Schmidt 1999).

Inside the [charnel grounds are] the eight *stūpas*, such as The Enchanting Mound, the eight *mahāsiddhas* living there, such as Hūmkāra, the eight bonfires, such as The Fully Blazing Skeleton, the eight hurricanes, such as The Most Turbulent, the eight trees, such as the Jambu tree, the eight local guardians living there as well as the eight zombies with hostile laughter. In between the charnel grounds are eight oceans, of which four in the cardinal directions are shaped like lotuses and four in the intermediate directions are shaped like bows, where the eight great *nāgas* live. [192] Since what is between the charnel grounds and the lotuses is the enclosure of the universe, the teachers only mention that it is round without stating its measure.²⁴³ In the middle of this is a red PAM from which [arises] a multi[colored] lotus with one hundred thousand petals (as explained in the scriptures of Līlāvajra). On top of that, from a green HA, [appears] a double *vajra* with twelve prongs. It has the colors of the [four] directions, such as being white in the east, and the middle is flat, square and dark blue. On top of that is a five colored BHRUM from which [appears] a two storied palace. On the outside [it is made of] five layers of blue, white, yellow, red and green precious stones. Its base is a red protruding foundation that is ornamented with offering gods. At the four gates are the eight architraves²⁴⁴ with their fabrics -- the horse ankle, lotus, casket, lattice, cluster ornament²⁴⁵, garlands, rain

²⁴³ The editor of the text has placed a note of uncertainty after the sentence ‘stating its measure’.

²⁴⁴ *Rta bab*; usually a rock placed at the entrance of temples for dismounting, but in the terminology of the divine palace the meaning is close to an architrave.

²⁴⁵ The editor of the text places a note of uncertainty after the word ‘*sgros 'phyang*’ (here translated as ‘cluster ornament’). I have not been able to find a translation for this term and translate it as the common term ‘*chun 'phyang*’.

spouts, and *garuda* head. [The gates] are beautified at the top²⁴⁶ with ornaments such as the border, top border, rainspout web and ledge. Inside eight pillars support the encircling beam on top of which are jewel borders shaped like a vase. On top of this is a [feature] which is like a square pot. Thereupon is a lotus that supports the wheels of dharma that, in combination with the top ornament, has the shape of a *stūpa*. [193] Inside [the palace] are three layers of dry, fresh and rotten skulls fixed together with meteorite nails and graced with a smear of blood and fat. Streamers of human skin are beautified with charnel ground offerings. Above is a border made of human heads, as well as windows made of the sun and moon, and a top border of legs and arms -- joined at the ends -- having ribbons of intestines and lattices of bone. There are cornices of feet and hands, a ledge of backbones and a victory banner made of human skin. Inside are beams of Brahmā and a roof woodwork of stars. The pillar bases are the eight *nāgas*, the pillars are the eight gods, and the pillar capitals are the eight planets. Covering the ceiling is a human skin that is adorned with a top-ornament of Rudra's head and heart. Within the splendor of charnel ground ornaments, such as door hangings made of human skin and the implanted black serpent being, is a brownish black square²⁴⁷ of human flesh adorned with a grove of corpses, on top of which is a BHRUM. From that [syllable appears] a deep blue eight sided jewel, in the middle of which is a single small and round skull enclosure. In the middle of that [enclosure] is a deep blue E shaped with upright *vajras*, *vajrarati* -- the great *vajra* rock, a sun, a moon and a lotus. For the central deity [the seat is]

²⁴⁶ The editor of the text places a note of uncertainty after the sentence 'at the top.' The following ornaments normally appear at the side of the gates.

²⁴⁷ The shape is actually not a square but rather looks like a square with a small rectangle attached to each side.

Mahādeva who lies face down, is black, [194] holds a trident and a blood-filled skull cup, and [wears] a tiger skirt, and Mahādevī who is red, lies on her back, holds a trident, a blood-filled skull cup, and [wears] a leopard skirt. For the ten wrathful ones the seats are in a half circle of suppressed enemies and demons in equal number to the deities. Right at the eastern skull enclosure is [a seat] of the god Brahmā, on the eastern tip of the jewel is [a seat] of Gandharva, to the south of Yama, to the west of the Lord of the Nāgas, to the north of Yakṣa, to the southeast of Agni, to the southwest of Rākṣasa, to the northwest of Yāyu, to the northeast of Vināyaka, and right at the western skull enclosure is [a seat] of Bhūmipati. They are all joined with their wives at the waist. However, the esoteric instructions and the particularly detailed explanations concerning the palace and the central and surrounding seats should be understood by being received orally from a master.

1.1.1.3.2 Secondly [follows] the creation of the deities:

The HŪṂ seed [syllable] that is resting in space [now] descends, like the fall of a shooting star, down into the center of the central seat. Limitless light rays then radiate out in the ten directions and make offerings to the Conquerors and invoke their vows. As [the light rays] touch sentient beings their obscurations are purified. The rays then return together with the blessings of the Conquerors. As they dissolve into the HŪṂ, it is transformed into a deep blue *vajra* marked with a HŪṂ. [195] Once more, in the same fashion, light spreads out and returns whereby the two accumulations become fully perfected and [the *vajra*] transforms into the form of the Great Glorious One. Regarding

this, [one should] perform the creation with the *mantra* and the visualization with the words.

Say, OM VAJRAKĪLĪ KĪLAYA SARVAVIGHNĀN BAṂ HŪM PHAṬ. Thereby, without moving from *dharmakāya*, the primordially pure state or nature that is the natural basic space of emptiness, *sambhogakāya* -- glorious Vajrasattva -- appears in the form of the blazing inexhaustible adornment wheel of enlightened body, speech, and mind as the great glorious Vajrakumāra, who is *nirmāṇakāya* in the ferocious form of absolutely unbearable wrath. His body is deep blue and in each of his [three] faces, of which the right is white, the left red, and the middle blue, are three eyes, so he is endowed with nine fierce eyes. His twenty one thousand strands of hair are tied together at the crown of his head and [embellished] with a top ornament of a half *vajra*. He wears a head ornament of five dry skulls and a bejeweled crest ornament. With the upper two of his six hands he holds a nine pronged [*vajra*] and a mass of fire that he brandishes in the threatening posture. The two middle [hands hold] a five-pronged [*vajra*] and a *khaṭvāṅga*. The lower two roll the *kīla* of the central mountain. His four feet, dancing with the [two] left [legs] outstretched, stamp on Mahādeva and Mahādevī. [196] His wings, the right a razor marked with a small *vajra* seal and the left a sharp knife²⁴⁸ marked with jewels, are outstretched and he has a tail which is a sword marked with a wheel. He has six ornaments: a bone wheel at the top of his head, earrings, necklace, ashes, a belt, and bracelets on the hands and feet. He has a triple garland of dry, rotten and fresh skulls. A white *rājakula* snake holds his hair together, yellow *vaiśya* [snakes] are his earrings, a red *brahman* [snake] is his necklace, black *caṇḍāla* [snakes] are on his body, and green *sūdra*

²⁴⁸ *Chu gri* is a kind of knife fabricated in the divine realms.

[snakes] are bracelets on his hands and feet. Dry skulls are his head ornament. He is [adorned] with the eight charnel ground ornaments; the crown and bone ornaments, [together with] the garland of human heads and bundles of snakes ornamenting his body are the two fastened ornaments; the shirt of elephant hide, the underskirt of human skin and the tiger skin skirt are the three worn garments; and the clot of ashes in the forehead, the drops of *rakta* on the cheeks, and the smears of fat on the neck are the three smeared elixirs. On top of that is the deep blue crown [and] a *vajra* coat of mail. That he stands in the expanse of a mass of fire is the ornament of fire. Thus the ten glorious ornaments are [complete]. He [demonstrates] the nine aspects of dance which are a playful, fearless, and repulsive body; [197] an agitated, abusive, and frightening speech; and a compassionate, splendid, and peaceful mind. With such wrathful ornaments and manners he is utterly terrifying.

The great consort Dīptacakra is dark blue and charming in her youth. She has one face and two hands. Her right [hand] embraces the neck of the lord holding her particular mark, the *utpala* flower. With the left she offers a blood-filled skull to the mouth [of the lord]. [These two, combined with] the dry skulls, the jewel head ornament and the ashes, [constitute] the five seals of abandonment. She is also adorned with charnel ground ornaments, such as the leopard skirt. On the bodies of the lord and consort, who are standing in a blazing mass of fire, are ten trillion *vajra* hairs and [from their bodies] *kīla śācchas* shoot out like stars.

In the heart center of the lord is a dome that appears like sapphire light. It has a single entrance and inside is the wisdom being Vajrasattva, the size of a finger. In his heart center is an octagon jewel in the middle of which is a seat of the sun and the moon,

[the size of] a split pea. On [this seat] is a golden *vajra* [the size of] a barley grain. In its center, resting on a sun, is a blue [letter] HŪṂ the size of a mustard seed around which the nine Kīlaya syllables, [fine], as if written by a hair, form an unmoving circle. [198] The protector of the dome is the red Hayagrīva who protects while holding a lotus and a bhañja. Visualize [in this manner]. Although there is a special instruction for the occasion of this gate I will not explain it here because it generally is unsuited for writing and so should be received directly from a master.

The second [part of this chapter] concerns the creation of the *maṇḍala* of the Wrathful Ones of the ten directions. From the union of the great glorious Vajrakumāra and consort [arise] clouds of *bodhicitta* of passion, from which [appear] ten joined HŪṂ letters that disperse to their individual seats. From [these letters appear the following deities:]

Right at the eastern skull enclosure on a seat of Brahmā is the wrathful Hūmkāra. He is dark blue with [three] faces, of which the right is white and the left is red. Of his six hands the first two [hold] a *vajra* and a blood-filled skull, which are the particular mark of the ten Wrathful Ones. The middle two hold a bow and arrow.²⁴⁹ The lower two roll a *kīla*, which is similar for all the ten Wrathful Ones. Like a shadow to the body is the light blue consort Resounding Vajra. Her right [hand], holding a *vajra*, embraces the neck [of the lord] and the left offers [him] a blood-filled skull cup. These hand-symbols are the

²⁴⁹ These and other symbols of the ten wrathful kings are different in the byang gter tradition. See Boord 1993: 89.

same for all the consorts. To their right is the pig head *piśācī* [holding] a lance in the right [hand] and a wheel in the left. To their left is the lizard head attendant holding a supreme bow and a *triśūla*.

[199] In the east is the white Vijaya. He has [three] faces of which the right is blue and the left is red. His two middle hands [hold] a wheel and a *khaṭvāṅga*. His consort is the whitish red Haughty Vajra. [To their right is] the tiger head *piśācī* [holding] a lance and a wheel and [to their left is] the vulture head attendant holding a supreme bow and a *triśūla*.

In the south east is the light blue Nīladaṇḍa. His right face is white and the left is red. His two middle [hands hold] a mass of fire and a club. His consort is the light blue Vajra Claw. [To their right is] the yak head *piśācī* [holding] a mass of fire and a pestle and [to their left is] the crow head attendant holding a club and an ax.

In the south is the dark yellow Yamāntaka. His right [face] is blue and the left is red. His two middle [hands hold] a pestle and an ax. His consort is the orange Lady of the Charnel Ground. [To their right is] the deer head *piśācī* [holding] a mass of fire and a pestle and [to their left is] the owl head attendant holding a club and an ax.

In the south west is the dark green Acala. His right [face] is white and the left is red. His two middle [hands hold] a sword and a lasso. His consort is the dark blue Vajra Mortar. [To their right is] the leopard head *piśācī* [holding] a sword and a lasso and [to their left is] the raven head attendant holding a lasso and a razor.

In the west is the dark red Hayagrīva. His right [face] [200] is white and the left is blue. His two middle [hands hold] a lasso made of snakes and a razor. His consort is the bright red Fierce Vajra. [To their right is] the cat head [*piśācī* holding] a sword and a lasso and [to the left is] the hoopoe bird head attendant holding a lasso and a razor.

In the north west is the light red Aparājita. His right face is white and the left is blue. His two middle [hands hold] a banner and a tail-fan. His consort is the light red Haughty Arrow Vajra. [To their right is] the wolf head *piśācī* [holding] a banner and a crossed *vajra* and [to their left is] the hawk head attendant holding a tail-fan and a bell.

In the north is the dark green Amṛtakunḍalin. His right [face] is white and the left is red. His two middle [hands hold] a crossed *vajra* and a bell. His consort is the dark green Wind Blowing Vajra. [To their right is] the lion head *piśācī* [holding] a banner and a crossed *vajra* and [to their left is] the bat head attendant holding a tail-fan and a bell.

In the north east is the black Trailokyavijaya. His right [face] is white and the left is red. His two middle [hands hold] a hammer and the head of a demon. His consort is the greenish yellow Vajra Killer. [To their right is] the hyena [head] *piśācī* [holding] a hammer and a plough and [to their left is] the bear head attendant holding the head of a demon and a wooden bat.

Right at the western skull enclosure is the black Mahābala. His right face is white and the left is red. His two middle hands strike with a plough and a bat. His consort is the black Vajra Activity or [Vajra] Exhortation [201] who [holds] a *vajra* and a fresh skull. [To their right] is the brown bear head *piśācī* [holding] a hammer and a plough and [to their left is] the rat head attendant holding the head of a demon and a wooden bat.

In this way all the male and female wrathful ones are equal to the main lord [and] consort in terms of splendor, charnel ground ornaments etc. It is also said that the body colors of the *piśācīs* and attendants are identical to their respective male and female wrathful ones. The fire of wisdom and the majestic brilliance that blazes from their bodies, like the fire [at the end] of an eon, are unbearable to behold. Visualize this, clearly and distinctly without mixing [anything] up.

1.1.1.3.3 Thirdly [follows] the creation of the material liberating *kīla maṇḍala*:

From the *bodhicitta* light sphere of the central lord and consort emanate twenty one HŪṂ syllables in a crescent. From that arrangement light rays appear and from their tips innumerable small *kīlas* emanate. They burn and purify the body, speech and mind of all sentient beings in the three realms as well as all the habitual tendencies of clinging to appearances of the six kinds [of existences causing all beings] to become the nature of the great glorious one. As [the rays] gather back they dissolve into the HŪṂ syllables that transform into the twenty one supreme sons who are dark blue like the blossomed utpala flower. [202] They have a wrathful and terrifying upper body and three faces, of which the right is white and the left is red, with thick matted iron hair. The seven sons to the right have six hands of which the top right [holds] a wheel which is their particular mark, the middle [right] a five pronged [*vajra*], the top left a mass of fire, the middle [left] a *khaṭvāṅga* and the two lower hands roll a *kīla*. The top [right] hand of the seven sons to the left [holds] a lotus which is their particular mark. The top [right] hand of the seven sons behind [holds] a crossed *vajra* which is their particular mark. In the other hands all the supreme sons [hold] the same hand implements. Their lower body, emerging from the mouth of Makara, is the three edged, sharp, meteoric blade which is planted in the place

of the life force of enemies and obstructing forces. It is adorned with charnel ground ornaments and, in the light of a blazing fire, *sācchas* shoot out like stars. They are created as the liberating identity of compassion.

At the four inner gates of the palace are the four wrathful emanated gatekeepers. In the east is the white Yakṣā with the [head of] a hoopoe bird, holding an iron hook. In the south is the yellow Bhairavī with the [head of] a magpie, holding a lasso. In the west is the red Amṛtā with the [head of] an owl, holding an iron chain. In the north is the green Ghātakā with the head of a hawk, ringing a bell. They all [hold] their particular mark in their right hand and their left hand rolls the *kīla* of the four activities. [203] Furthermore, in middle courtyard are the twelve *kīla* protectors, such as Śvanmukhā in the east. In the last blood-courtyard are the twenty eight Īśvarīs, such as the Seven White Extinguishers in the east. The four *kiṃkara* spirits protect the outer gates. At the outer wall is the hundred headed *kīla* goddess in the east. In the north, headed by the Bhuta [spirit] Rdo rje sna yon, are servants such as the thirty two *ḍākinīs*, the seven mothers, the four sisters, the [eight] blazing ones, haughty spirits and wild beasts. The attendants should be clearly developed in a welcoming manner -- like rays from the sun. Furthermore, what has been gradually created [here should be] visualized in an instant by the *mantra* of Vajrakīlaya.

1.1.2 Part Two: Blessing, Conferring Empowerment etc.

[This has] three [parts]:

1.1.2.1 The first [part, which is the descent of blessing and conferring of empowerment,] is to visualize that the personal *samaya maṇḍala* is blessed as the identity of the primordially pure enlightened body, speech, and mind and that the three deities, or syllables, of enlightened body, speech, and mind manifest in the three places. Although in general among the five families of *tathāgatas* the empowerment sign of Vajrakumāras family is *vajra* [204] he manifests as a deity of activity because of having been empowered as the identity of the five wisdoms and one should therefore conceive that his head is adorned with the five families headed by Amoghasiddhi.

1.1.2.2 The second [part is] the invitation [of the deities]. This has three [parts]:

1.1.2.2.1 First is making a request. Request by [saying], "Gatherings of deities of Vajrakīlaya of Existence, from the basic space of phenomena, please consider this arisen *samaya maṇḍala* and make it inseparable from the wisdom *maṇḍala*," and [then chant,] "VAJRA SAMĀJAḤ." Then, while applying the symbolic gestures, one should say, "I pray that the *tathāgatas* may manifest as *rūpakāya* from the basic space of phenomena and arrive at [this] occasion of invitation."

1.1.2.2.2 Second is the actual invitation. Invite by saying, " I request you to arrive, from the abode of Akaniṣṭha, to this *samaya* place of the wrathful ones possessing wisdom as the *maṇḍala* in which all outer worlds and inner contents of the three-fold existence are visualized as Vajrakīlaya. Once [you have arrived], please display in actuality, visions, or dreams the signs of accomplishing wisdom -- the supreme accomplishment -- and the marks of accomplishing the vow-holders -- the common [accomplishments] and [furthermore,] grant, without exception, all supreme and common

accomplishments of Vajrakīlaya." [205] While saying this, think that from the heart center of the central lord, four goddesses emanate into Akaniṣṭha and summon the wisdom beings, bind, constrain, delight and invite them. Thereby, like the retinue arriving by themselves once the king has moved, the retinue together with the palace arrives in the space before [oneself].

1.1.2.2.3 Third is the request to remain. Request the main deity to joyfully remain in the charnel ground palace on a seat made of Rudra with Brahmā and Brāhmī suppressed on top and so forth, by saying, "SAMAYA TĪṢṬHA LHAN." Think that thereby, like water dissolving into water, the *samaya maṇḍala* dissolves into the wisdom *maṇḍala*, the main deity into the main deity, the retinue into the retinue, the palace into the palace and they become inseparable.

[1.1.2].3 Making offerings has seven parts:

[1.1.2.3].1 First is offering homage to please. From the heart center of the main deity one emerges in the form of the Vajrakumāra of activity. At the eastern gate one recites the verse [beginning with], "[To the gatherings of *herukas*, who] manifest in form from the basic space of phenomena" and with a respectful attitude one devotedly performs prostrations by bowing the five parts [of the body] to the ground. Then one says, "ATI PŪ HOḤ" [meaning] "Are you thoroughly pleased with the offerings?" [206] Imagine that with, "PRATI[ŚĀ] PŪ HOḤ" the gatherings of deities respond saying, "They are absolutely pleasing."

[1.1.2.3].2 Second is offering enjoyments. From the heart center of the lord many goddesses stream forth holding up offering substances from the liberation of Rudra such

as the flower of the senses. Think that they please by making offerings to each part [of the deities], such as giving flowers to head.

[1.1.2.3].3 Third is the offering of the three poisons. The flesh, blood, and bones that are the essence of desire, anger, and ignorance are offered to the gathering of great glorious ones. Think that, by saying MAHĀMĀṂ[SA] and so forth, the three poisons become naturally purified.

[1.1.2.3].4 Fourth is the offering of *amṛta*. [This has] two [aspects]: performing the actual offering and receiving the accomplishments. [1.1.2.3.4].1 First is [the actual offering]. "The primordially pure *samaya* substance, the medicine that is made from eight primary and one thousand [subsidiary ingredients], this great substance that perfects the wisdom deities and accomplishes the *maṇḍala*, I offer to the gathering of the great glorious ones." Say [such] words and [then say], SARVA PANCA and so forth. Think that offerings are made from the stainless ocean of *amṛta* when the ring-finger stirs with the sphere of the united sun and moon whereby all the deities are pleased by the taste of great bliss. [1.1.2.3.4].2 Then follows [the receipt of the accomplishments]. Having in this way made pleasing offerings to the gatherings of deities, this host of deities radiates [207] all accomplishments of enlightened body speech and mind into the *amṛta* in the form of the three syllables like a present returned for a gift. Then visualize the tongue of the *yogin* as a *vajra* marked with a HŪṂ and take the *amṛta* with your ring-finger in the form of the three syllables and place it on your tongue. Think that by dissolving into the tongue you attain all the supreme accomplishments of body, speech and mind.

[1.1.2.3].5 Fifth is the offering of *rakta*. "From the vessel of the great skull, as a result of the liberation of Rudra -- ego-clinging -- bright red waves gush forth into space. In order to empty *samsāra* I offer this *rakta* to the great glorious one together with his retinue." Say this together with the [appropriate] *mantra*. Think that by offering *samsāra* as an ocean of blood and fat it is accepted without remainder and thereby all the worlds of *samsāra* are emptied.

[1.1.2.3].6 Sixth is the offering of *bali*. "To the gatherings of blood drinking deities I offer this *bali* made of the beings of the threefold existence who are liberated inside the vessel-like world of the blazing *bhañja*." Say this together with the [appropriate] *mantra*. Think that thereby enjoyments of the five sense pleasures, possessing all that is desired, amend the *samaya* vows and the leftovers of meat and blood are enjoyed by the vow-holders.

[208] [1.1.2.3].7 Seventh is the offering of joining and liberation. Say the offering [verses] beginning with, "[The expanse of the bhaga] of the *dharmadhātu* consort ..." and "[The obstructing spirits] who create obstacles for me ..." together with their *mantras*. Thereby the means of the awareness-wisdom *vajra* of great bliss is joined into the female wrathful one's wisdom sphere and conceptual thoughts are liberated into wisdom. Thus join and liberate. Think that from the place of their union, which is inseparably united bliss and emptiness, infinite cloudbanks of *bodhicitta* offerings are presented. Think that having liberated enemies, obstructers, and conceptual thought, no enemy for the [Buddha's] teaching remains and [so] there is nothing to prevent the birth of wisdom.

[1.1.2].4 The Praises [are divided in] four.

[1.1.2.4].1 First is the praise to the beings of the root *maṇḍala*. Their body has accomplished wisdom and is fully complete with signs and marks and endowed with the dance [modes] of body, such as the playful [mode] and its majestic brilliance blazes like the fire [at the end] of an aeon. Their single voice that is endowed with the dance [modes] of speech such as agitation as well as the empty resonance of the sixty aspects of the melodious [voice of] Brahmā pervades and moves the limits and inclinations of all the worlds. Their mind is endowed with the dance [modes] of mind such as compassion and the two-fold knowledge. Praise the indivisible great glorious blood drinking lord and consort who in this way liberate all the one billion [world systems], [209] without exception, by taming [those to be tamed] in whatever way is [necessary].

[1.1.2.4].2 Second is the praise to the *maṇḍala* of the wrathful ones in the ten directions. The ten unwholesome actions are liberated by the ten wrathful ones, such as the great wrathful Hūmkāra who liberates the fault of engaging in sexual misconduct. Like Resounding [Vajra], who arises from the *pāramitā* of wisdom, the ten female wrathful ones arise from the ten *pāramitās*. The ten devourers are emanated from the male aspect of means and the ten killers are emanated from the female aspect of wisdom. Praise this *maṇḍala* of the wrathful ones in the ten directions.

[1.1.2.4].3 Third is the praise to the material *kīla* maṇḍala. This is to praise the supreme *kīla* sons who are the embodiment of the conqueror's compassion in order to liberate all beings by the application of skillful compassion that kills those with wrong ideas by natural anger that is unimpeded by ignorance.

In this way you should praise the three *maṇḍalas* in a manner where those to be praised and those who praise are inseparable.

[1.1.2.4].4 Fourth is the praise to the gate keepers and vow-holders. This means to pay homage to the four female gate keepers who took vows in the presence of the great glorious one and the gatherings of vow-holding attendants who guard the perimeter of the outer compound [210] in order that they fulfill the activities as they have been entrusted. Think that, in the form of Karma Heruka, you dissolve indivisibly into the heart center of the central deity.

Furthermore, although it is oneself offering the praises past [knowledge holders] have taught that one can imagine that the gatherings of deities are pleased since it is a praise that naturally resounds from the sky of the wrathful palace. In this regard, with the essential method of the development stage the palace [purifies] the support of the vessel-[like] world that is created through various habitual tendencies and the divine form purifies the supported, which is the attachment to the body being real. Furthermore, by embracing the basis of profound *samādhī*, which is the way to stop the nature of mind projecting towards objects, [these development stage aspects] lead to the essence of purity, perfection and maturation. Since they have features similar to *saṃsāra* they cleanse and purify existence and because they are similar to the nature of *nirvāṇa* they perfect fruition in the ground [and] both [of these features] lead to the maturation of the completion stage. These are important and precious general intents.

[1].2 Recollection of purity

Among the classification of all possible phenomena into ground, path and fruition, at the occasion of the path when training in the development stage, one should engage in the recollection of purity that joins ground and fruition by reflection on emptiness imbued with compassion. [211] Otherwise, people of low intelligence who meditate independently on the development stage will fall into side tracks. Moreover, if, for example, one meditates independently on the seed syllable one will be born as an inferior insect having that shape. If one meditates independently on the pride of a peaceful deity one will be born as a long-living god. By meditating independently on the form of a wrathful deity one will take birth as an activity *rākṣasa*. By [meditating] independently on the multi-headed ones one will take rebirth such as a cemetery fox [or] jackal. By [meditating] independently on anger one will be born in a hell. Thus, the recollection of purity is extremely important. There are two points to [the recollection of purity].

[1.2].1 First is the remembrance of the purity of the support. In the same way that the sky is the expanse of Samantabhadrī, the five elements are the absolute purity of the expanse of the five female buddhas. In general, the protective dome signifies not being harmed by any demon or obstructing spirit arising from dualistic thought. In particular, the inner dome of the ten-spoked weapon wheel [symbolizes] cutting the root of disturbing emotions of those to be tamed. The eight totally pure charnel grounds [symbolize] the eight collections [of consciousness]. The lotus is a sign that the faults of *samsāra* never stain the basic space of phenomena. [212] The *vajra*-cross [symbolizes] the spontaneous accomplishment of the four activities. By the appearance of non-dual wisdom the outside of the palace is made of various precious stones. All proportions and

distinguishing features are the identity of the five wisdoms and the abode of all buddhas of the three times. As a sign of the spontaneous accomplishment of the three kāyas the inner walls are made of the charnel ground substances of dry, rotten and fresh skulls. Having totally annihilated evil ones with the activity of direct action there is a deep blue, triangular, mighty *vajra* rock in the middle [of the palace]. It is surrounded on the outside by three crescent shaped stormy oceans, terrifying and marked with designs of bloody fangs, as [a sign] of fondness for those to be tamed through the activity of accepting [followers]. Furthermore, because [all this] is subsumed into one by great nondual wisdom, [the *maṇḍala*] has a round wall of skulls. The eight-sided jewel symbolizes the spontaneous accomplishment of superior qualities. The four noble truths are the purity of the square. It is encircled by the wall of equality free from acceptance and rejection. The falling grills²⁵⁰ of corpses at the four gates [symbolize] entering [the dharma] by means of the four liberations and cutting the continuity of *saṃsāra*. The upper and lower tortoise sills that have the nature of male and female *bhuta* spirits are purified miserliness. The black serpent being is purified anger, [213] the eight *deva* pillars are purified pride, the eight *nāga* pillar bases are purified ignorance, the eight planetary pillar capitals are fully purified jealousy, and the roof woodwork of stars is fully purified desire. The ceiling of human skin is fully purified ego-clinging. The windows of the sun and moon are a sign of dispelling the darkness of ignorance. The skull border with braids of hair [symbolizes] utter beautification with the light of wisdom. Below the beams of the roof the garlands of several hearts and the bone lattice ornamented with tassels are signs of uninterrupted undefiled bliss. As a sign that the magnificent splendor of wisdom overcomes the various

²⁵⁰ The bars that fall down at the gate of a castle.

ordinary thoughts, streamers and victory banners of human skin and bones are hoisted. The descent of the mighty blood gutters at the four sides [symbolizes] that the denseness of karma and imperfections is expelled without remainder. The meteoric nails that unimpededly pierce the tiers [symbolize] that everything remains unchanging in the natural state. The single great *citta* top ornament is a symbolic sign that all is fully perfected as the single great self-existing wisdom. As a sign that there is no other experience apart from wisdom itself, the inside of [the palace] is seen when observed from the outside and when looking out from the inside the outside can be seen. [214] In the middle is the main seat where the sun and moon seats constitute means and knowledge and the lotus unattachment. Thereupon are the seats of Mahādeva and Mahādevī symbolizing victorious bravery. The other [seats] should be understood in the same way.

[1.2].2 Second is the recollection of the purity of the supported deities. The dark blue body color of the great glorious one [symbolizes] the unchanging innate nature. Three faces illustrate the three kāyas. Nine eyes see the meaning of the nine gradual vehicles as they are. The upward streaming mane [shows] abandonment of *bodhicitta* transfer. The half *vajra* is a heroic symbol for having overcome the four māras. The six arms are the six wisdoms. The four feet are the four [means] of magnetizing. The nine-pronged [*vajra*] in the top right hand conquers the concepts of the [first] nine *bhūmis*. The five-pronged [*vajra*] in the middle [right hand symbolizes] the liberation of the five poisons into basic space. The mass of fire in the top left [hand] burns the firewood of ignorance. The *khaṭvāṅga* in the middle [hand] cuts the three poisons at the root. The *kīla* of the central mountain in the lower two [hands] destroys evildoers to dust. The feathered

wings of united means and knowledge liberate migrators. The six [bone] ornaments [symbolize] the perfection of the six *pāramitās*, like the bone wheel at the top of the head [symbolizing perfected] meditative concentration. The bundle of snakes is fully purified anger. The elephant hide is purified ignorance. The antelope skin is fully purified desire. The tiger skirt is fully purified pride. The three essences [215] [symbolize] not dwelling in the extremes of either permanence, disruption or both. The *vajra* armor [symbolizes] not being harmed by any outer or inner harm-doer whatsoever. The completely blazing fire is made of the wisdom that lights up the darkness of ignorance.

[The consort is called] Dīptacakra²⁵¹ since, as the one who experiences empty bliss, non dual wisdom, she marks cyclic existence with the seal of emptiness. Having realized the innate nature to be unchanging and single she has one face. Her two hands are the unity of means and knowledge. Because the basic space of phenomena never lets go of awareness wisdom she embraces the lord with her right arm and leg.²⁵² Because of being attached to the wisdom method, her left [hand] offers a blood-filled skull to the mouth [of the lord]. The other ornaments and attributes are similar to the lord. However, the leopard skirt in particular [signifies] the completion of the distinctive spheres that constitute the support for the sixteen joys. The body color, hand implements, ornaments, and attributes of the other ten [pairs of] wrathful males and females are similar so apply the recollection of purity as mentioned above.

²⁵¹ 'Khor lo rgyas 'debs means 'Wheel Sealer.' Dīptacakra means 'Blazing Wheel'.

²⁵² Normally, she is depicted embracing vajrakīlaya with her right arm and left leg.

Stated in brief, the meaning of their names is the following: Wrathful [is used because] Rudra is wrathful in order to tame spontaneously those who need taming. However, at this point [the wrath] is embraced by skillful means and so it is great. Furthermore, Hūmkāra [is so called] because he gathers disciples that, like Brahmā, are not under the power of others. [216] Mother [is used] because of giving birth to all or because of being the womb of offspring. Because she creates the sound of the unborn basic space of phenomena [she is called] Resounding, and Vajra because of being non-dual and undivided. The emanations [are so called] because they emanate into many beings from a single ground, or, because they are emanated and appear from the mind of the lord and consort. The piśācīs²⁵³ [are so called] because their different appearances adorn each other. The attendants [receive their name] because they carry out the work of the great wrathful lord and consort and the male and female wrathful ones just like an attendant who obeys the king's command. The One With the Head of a Pig [is so called] because, for example, just like the pig lives in wet [places] and has no [concepts of] clean and dirty, so it compassionately carries out the welfare of sentient beings without partiality. [The One With the Head of a Lizard is so called] because, just like a lizard sleeps a lot and lives in dry [places], so it dwells in a state that does not conceptualize the natural state and is free from the mud of *samsāra*.

Vijaya [is so called] because of having conquered the extremes of permanence and disruption. Haughty Vajra [is so called] because of having mastered the meaning of the innate nature. [The One With the Head of a Tiger is so called because], just like the

²⁵³ The Tibetan term *phra man* means "Variegated One." The term *phra can* also mean *jewel* - thus adorning each other. The Sanskrit term *piśācī* might be derived from their fondness for flesh (*piśa*).

tiger has a clear pattern [on its skin] and devours meat, it understands the non-dual wisdom that cognizes all outer and inner phenomena without mixing them up. [The One With the Head of a Vulture is so called because], just as a vulture, although it is carnivorous, [217] does not take life and notices corpses wherever they are, it remains aware of those to be tamed as well as their wishes and yet has no attachment to itself when benefiting them.

The great wrathful Nīladanda [is so called] because of having taken the unchanging innate nature to heart and thereby having destroyed the evil view of clinging to extremes. Vajra Claw [is so called] because awareness wisdom is like a claw and so can hold the meaning of the innate nature. [The One With the Head of a Yak is so called because], just like a Yak remains furious, non-conceptual subjugation thoroughly destroys evil doers. [The One With the Head of a Crow is so called because], just like the eye of a crow sees both up and down at the same time, it non-conceptually sees both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

Yamāntaka²⁵⁴ [is so called] because of being the opponent of the obstructing forces in the southern direction. Lady of the Charnel Ground [is so called] because of having mastered thoroughly non-conceptual wisdom. [The One With the Head of a Deer is so called because], just like a deer has a keen sense of smell and tries hard to flee, it identifies conceptual thought as the innate nature and does not abide in *saṃsāra*. [The One With the Head of an Owl is so called because], just like an owl cannot see in the day but sees at night, deluded thoughts have set and the utterly pure reality is shining.

²⁵⁴ This name means slayer of *Yama*.

Acala [is so called] because he does not make use of disturbing emotions and conceptual thinking and perseveres in the welfare of beings. [218] The consort Vajra Mortar [is so called] because with natural non-conceptual knowledge she grinds disturbing emotions into wisdom. [The One With the Head of a Leopard is so called because, just like] a leopard has bright spots and great skill in leaping, it unimpededly knows what can be known and possesses the strength to liberate beings. [The One With the Head of a Raven is so called because], just like the raven cannot be seen by others because it has the wand of invisibility it enters into the reality of the natural condition that is not realized by others.

Hayagrīva [is so called] because by the force of swift diligence a horse head appeared [on top of his head]. The consort Fierce Vajra [is so called] because she rages at conceptual thought. [The One With the Head of a Cat is so called because], just like a cat has great dexterity and a calm state of mind, it endeavors in the purpose of liberating beings while not moving from a peaceful state of mind. [The One With the Head of a Hoopoe Bird is so called because], just like a hoopoe bird possesses an eye elixir and flaps its wings violently, it endeavors in clearing away the pellicle of ignorance and carries out the benefit of beings.

[Aparājita is so called because] in the innate nature he is unmoved by thoughts and, because of having conquered the haughty spirits, he is unbeatable by others. The consort Haughty Arrow Vajra [is so called] because, having released awareness wisdom like an arrow, she kills the thinking mind. [The One With the Head of a Wolf is so called because], just like the wolf enjoys taking life and has no compassionate preferences, it liberates *samaya*-breakers and benefits worthy recipients. [The One With the Head of a

Hawk is so called because], just like the hawk [219] has sharp nails and strong claws, it does not let go of those to be tamed by great compassion.

Amrtakuṇḍalin [is so called] because he measures the demons of conceptual thought with wisdom.²⁵⁵ The consort Wind Blowing Vajra [is so called] because her non-dual wisdom, like a wind, scatters the husk of conceptual thought. [The One With the Head of a Lion is so called because], just like a lion has great strength and can overpower other predators, it overpowers disturbing emotions with the power of realization. [The One With the Head of a Bat is so called because], just like a bat remembers three days, it realizes all phenomena in a single moment.

Trailokyavijaya [is so called] because of being primordially victorious over the three realms -- the desire realm, the form realm, and the formless realm. The consort Vajra Killer [is so called] because she slays all conceptual phenomena within a state devoid of concepts. [The One With the Head of a Bear is so called because], just like a bear has enormous wrath and has a white heart although its [fur] is black, it persists in the means for liberating sentient beings but its peaceful mind is unmoved from the innate nature. [The One With the Head of a Weasel is so called because], just like a weasel has great dexterity and runs in all directions, with swift and speedy activity it performs the benefit of various beings to be tamed.

²⁵⁵ The Tibetan name for Amṛtakūṇḍalin, Bdud rtsi 'khyil ba, directly translates *Confluence of Demon [Conquering] Nectar*. However, playing on the word *rtsi* the author makes use of the similar spelled verb "rtsis 'debs pa" meaning "measure."

Mahābala [is so called] because he is unbiased regarding the welfare of those to be tamed and capable of liberating them. [220] Vajra Agitator²⁵⁶ [is so called] because compassion actualizes the welfare of others. [The One With the Head of a Brown Bear is so called because], just like a brown bear is stiff and sleeps a lot, with compassion it does not let go of sentient beings and is unmoved by thoughts. [The One With the Head of a Rat is so called because], just like a rat enters into [only] one [hole] although its nest has many entrances, it condenses the meaning of the eighty four thousand gateways to the dharma into the single unborn *bodhicitta*.

The supreme sons, arising from appearances of indivisible space and wisdom, are the hand implements of Vajrakumāra. Furthermore, when striking with the poisonous *kīla* it should be blessed as the supreme sons and then planted. Since they crush the bodies of enemies and obstacle makers into dust [they are called] hand implements. It is called the material *kīla maṇḍala* since it possesses the method and tools for striking and liberation. Furthermore, [the *kīla*] is marked with a knot since all phenomena are sealed as the great bliss son of indivisible space and wisdom. Because of the commitment of limitless great compassion towards those who do not realize that [natural state], it emerges from the mouth of Makāra. Because of acting for the sake of fierce direct action the three edged blade seems as if it is pulled [straight] from the blacksmith's furnace.

The hoopoe bird with the iron hook that holds on to [sentient beings] with compassion [symbolizes] the nature of limitless love. [221] The heron with the constraining lasso [symbolizes] the nature of limitless compassion. The owl with the

²⁵⁶ Above this deity was named Vajra Activity or [Vajra] Exhortation.

restraining chains [symbolizes] the nature of limitless joy. The one with the head of a hawk having the crushing bell [symbolizes] the nature of limitless equanimity.

Regarding the attendants: Śvanmukhā, who emanates from the body, has a dark blue body [symbolizing] the unchanging innate nature. Because of installing fear in the one billion [universes she has] a wolf head. Because of performing *sādhana* and the activities of body her two hands [hold] a skull garland and an iron wheel. The *kīla śācchas* issuing from her body [symbolize] that enemies and obstacle makers are liberated. Such is the recollection of purity for all attendants and vow-holders. When a meditative concentration that is aware of these special purposes [in this way] transfers wisdom to all conceptual thoughts that [otherwise] are apprehended in the mind as ordinary it becomes a unique and unsurpassed path.

[1].3 Stable Pride

"I am truly the great glorious Vajrakumāra! I have thoroughly abandoned clinging to my own name and family! The great glorious Vajrakumāra who has exhausted all faults and is endowed with all qualities -- that is me! I possess all the qualities of the body, speech and mind of the great glorious one. [222] Now I am the glorious Vajrakumāra!" Sustain for a long time a stable pride that thinks like this until the very deity is mastered. Furthermore, on top of [training in] pride and vivid appearance, if you can rest evenly in a natural unfabricated manner, that will bring about a mode of non-dual profundity and clarity. All phenomena, illustrated in the divine forms of the development stage, are devoid of being one or many and when, based on reasonings such as that of

dependent origination, you have contemplated how appearances do not intrinsically exist you should meditate on aware emptiness.

2. The *yoga* of speech and *mantra* recitation

Generally there are three [kinds] of *mantra*: [First] is the unmistakable cause of the root *mantra*, such as the HŪM seed syllable. Second is the circumstantial *mantra* of the development, which consists of various *mantras* such as E and so forth that give rise to the gradually [piled] elements, the BHRUM that gives rise to the palace, and the Vajrakīlaya [*mantra*] that gives rise to the central [deities and their] retinue. Third is the *mantra* of activity recitation, such as dividing the recitation palace, the petitioning recitation etc., which is to be appropriately applied as elucidated in the scriptures.

The intent of recitation: The intent of recitation that focuses on the bodily form [of the deity] is, as was explained above, to chant until the clear appearance of the deity is perfected. [223] [The intent of recitation] that focuses the speech on the syllables is to create, as before, a basis of the stable clear appearance of the *maṇḍala* deities and to recite while giving rise to the visualization that is elucidated in the practice text. [The intent of recitation] that focuses the mind on the innate nature is what will be explained below at the *yoga* of mind [in *samādhi*]. [The intent of recitation] that focuses recitation on the qualities and activities is the way it appears in the framework of the [*sādhana*] practice. The instructions for the profound key-points on connecting the life-appendix to the *mantras* of the central deities and the retinue as well as attaching the appendix when enacting the activities should only be received orally from a master. Furthermore, [there

are also recitations where] Kīlaya is applied to the innate nature and recited, applied to the deity and recited, and applied to a subjugating *mantra* and recited. There are also recitations that are like breaking a bee hive, like a fire-brand spinning above, and like the flying sparks of a blacksmith.

The *mantra* to be recited are the fourteen syllables of the essential *mantra* wheel consisting of the nine syllables OM VAJRA KĪLI KĪLAYA HŪM PHAT that are the life *mantra* of the recitation together with SARVAVIGHNĀN BAṂ that are the five syllables of activity *mantra*. When identifying the syllables as deities OM is the five families, the five wisdoms [and] the blood drinkers. [224] VAJRA is the indivisible Vajrakumāra and consort. The first KĪ is the ten male wrathful ones emanated from the lord. LI is the ten female wrathful ones emanated from the consort. The second KĪ is the ten eaters re-emanated from the male wrathful ones. LA is the ten killers re-emanated from the female wrathful ones. YA is the twenty one supreme sons that are emanations of body, speech, and mind. SARVA embodies all the thrice-emanated Kīlaya protectors. VIGH is the four Śvans and the Lord of the Life-force. NĀN is the four Retīs and The Yak-Headed One. BAṂ is the local lords, the Bswe beings.²⁵⁷ HŪM is the glorious wisdom mind of the assemblage of wrathful ones. PHAT is the *mantra* that completely annihilates enemies, obstacle makers, *samaya* breakers, and *bhuta* spirits. When performing the recitation of the retinue [one should] recite the *mantra* repetition for the male and female wrathful ones as well as the supreme sons and the *Kīla* protectors and offer the *Line of a thousand* at the end.

²⁵⁷ Bswe yi skyes bu. Refers perhaps to the four Bsre mo sisters.

The particular meaning of the name ["essential recitation"] is as follows. Since it primarily invokes the mind [of the deity it is termed] "essential." Furthermore, since it is diligently said again and again it is [termed] "recitation." Since it approaches and assimilates its particular supreme deity it is also [termed] "*jāpa*." Recite while avoiding the six faults of *mantra* repetition. If the speech is fast the fault of mixing the syllables [occurs]. If the speech is slow the fault of disconnecting [the syllables occurs]. If the voice is loud and intense the faults of irritation and deferral of blessings [occur]. If the voice is weak or [225] small the fault of inability [occurs]. If one gets drowsy the fault of a blurred speech [occurs]. If one is agitated, becomes distracted and the mind wanders the fault of unclear concentration [occurs]. Furthermore, do not interrupt [the recitation] with ordinary talk and do not shorten or prolong the syllables. You may [then wonder] how to recite. Recite clearly, distinctly, calmly, with a continuous voice. Recite accurately and complete the recitation without shortening and prolonging the *mantra*. Recite diligently and uninterruptedly like the flow of a river. The trainings of the recitation are the following. One should not change residence until the recitation has been completed since the accomplishments will get lost and futile should one do so. The *Vidyot*[*tamatantra*] says: "do not use [the *mantra*], do not talk, do not think of [anything] else." So one should not employ the deity until the marks and signs of recitation have appeared. Do not use the deity to bless all those who are sick or possessed because if you do, you will become defiled and the signs will become obscured. Even food and clothes [should be] attained by relying on materials in your own possession. Do not talk to others, even when you are not practicing the essential [*mantra*]. Saying "do not think" means not being engaged in any thought whatsoever except from focusing the mind one-pointedly on the

meditational deity. [226] One should even give up distractions towards concepts of the deity such as the shape of the syllables.

When reciting in this way one should also perform whichever of the recitations of time, number, or signs is suitable. Regarding that of time, *The Tantra of Realization* says: "The duration should be around a month." So one should proceed according to one's own capacity. [Concerning] the number of recitations it is said that "having completed the approach and accomplishment, seven hundred and twenty thousand *mantras* should have been recited." The number to reach is therefore at least seven hundred and twenty thousand. Concerning the signs of recitation the best is when [the deity] reveals itself in actuality. The medium [sign] is that the *Kīla* begins to fly and jump about and the lowest [signs] are sounds and lights [appearing], having dreams such as beating a drum, blowing a conch, the sun and moon arising in one's body, and holding up sharp weapons. This should be understood and applied.

3. The *yoga* of mind [in *samādhi*]

[The *yoga* of the mind in *samādhi* is to] rest evenly in the luminous state where your own mind, free from all complexities, is perfected as the state of Vajrakumāra and the visions of the empty essence and cognizant nature appear like unreal illusions -- free from concepts and liberated the moment they arise. When performing a meditation such as the development stage, [227] one's own mind together with the eight collections of consciousness arise as divine body and wisdom because this indispensable instruction applies the deity to the real. Furthermore, without meditating on awareness *bodhicitta* in

the form of great wisdom, the indivisible development and completion [stages] that primordially ripen the manifold into a single taste as the fruition of divine form, one will merely create a habit of meditating independently on the development stage. Therefore, since one thereby will be far from the fully liberating path, the instructions of the four nails that bind the life force are taught to be essential.

The Complete Secrets [of the Eight Pronouncements] Tantra says:

"Whether [regarding] worldly [deities] or [deities] of wisdom --

If you do not plant the four nails that bind the life force,

You will never be successful, like an outstretched leg.²⁵⁸

The way to steal the life force of all glorious ones

Is to know one and attain the life force of all -

Just like the mouth of Rahula,

Without having to catch the suns in a thousand puddles,

Attains a thousand life forces,

By taking the single sun in the sky.

Therefore the four nails that bind the life force are essential."

²⁵⁸ Lying with ones legs outstretched one does not accomplish anything.

Among these the nail of concentration is to turn one's attention one-pointedly to the divine features in, for example, the support for the visualization. Thereby attachment to reality and the belief that the body is ordinary are perfected into divine form by the use of meditation. A *tantra* says:

[228] "The nail of concentration is to be undistracted

In focusing the mind one-pointedly on the skull form,²⁵⁹

Perfecting the three fields,²⁶⁰

And actually meeting the Great Glorious *Heruka*.

Anything but that will fail to please the *Heruka*.

Without the nail of unchanging concentration

The body will never be seen."

The way to perfect the three fields is to first [develop] clarity in the field of contemplation. Then comes clarity in the field of vision. Then clarity in the field of touch. Thereby one meets the deity that is mind ripened into divine form, which is called increasing clarity.

Likewise, the nail of the essential *mantra* is to engage one-pointedly in the spinning of the root *mantra* at the spiritual life-force²⁶¹ and the desire for the palanquin.

²⁵⁹ A drawing of the deity in a skull.

By counting the *mantra*, the exhalation, inhalation, and resting [of the breath] become purified into the essence of speech. A *tantra* says:

"The nail of the essential *mantra* is to correctly recite

The *mantras* of the main deities in the entire [*maṇḍala*].

Around HŪṂ, the spiritual life force, spins the root *mantra*.

The luminous radiation and gathering, counting the life *mantra*.

At that time the magnificent one will grant a prophesy,

The capacity is perfected and deities gather.

Without the nail of approach and completion of the essential life force

It is impossible to subjugate gods and vow-holders."

The nail of unchanging intent is [229] to fully ripen the deity and reality into great equal taste having realized that whichever peaceful or wrathful deity one practices, such as the great glorious one, it has no existence other than one's own mind. A *tantra* says:

"The nail of [unchanging] intent is to [understand that]

All the peaceful and wrathful deities and the great glorious one

²⁶⁰ Three fields of objects (*snang yul*, *dbang yul*, *yid kyi yul*). "The form of the deity appearing as either a perceptual object, in the experience of the senses by someone else, or as a mental object" (Schmidt 1999).

²⁶¹ The seed syllable in the heart.

Have no existence apart from your own mind.

Neither is there a Rudra anywhere else -- they are your own mind!

Mind essence is empty -- *dharmakāya*;

Cognizant and clear -- *sambhogakāya*;

Self-arising in multiplicity -- *nirmāṇakāya*.

Appearance is the lord and emptiness the consort.

Indivisible appearance and emptiness is *Jñānakāya*.

Even though discursive thoughts are inconceivable,

They are all the retinue of the glorious one.

The inconceivable primordial Buddha

Does not leave the very nature [of mind].

Without the nail of unchanging intent,

Even if you practice the great glorious one -- apart from the ordinary
[accomplishments] -

You will not attain the supreme [accomplishments] and will go astray like
Rudra."

The nail of radiating and absorbing is the great miracle of gaining mastery over all the four types of activities and is as important as white borax is for the task of refining. A *tantra* says:

"The nail of radiating and absorbing means

That by knowing how to change one's visualization every wish is fulfilled.

The radiation and absorption of concentration

Perfects the capacity of mind

[230] And whatever you wish for will happen.

By the force of blessings of *mantra* and *mudrā*,

Any beneficial work is accomplished,

Whether peaceful, enriching, magnetizing or wrathful.

Just as, for example, the circumstance

Of prayers and offerings [being made] to a single jewel

Can fulfill every single wish.

Without the nail of various radiations and absorptions

The visualization will not accomplish goals beyond a single focus.

[But] if one knows how to change between radiation and absorption,

Then even the lowest of the The brang spirits

Will have unhindered activity and accomplish all deeds.

Everything is the miracle of mind."

As is said here, by condensing the instructions of the four nails into their key points, one will behold the [divine] form in actuality and seize the vital essence of that form. When accomplishing truth in speech one will seize the vital essence of speech and when attaining mastery of the innate nature one will seize the vital essence of mind. When the body, speech, and mind of the peaceful and wrathful *sugatas* merge with your own three doors,²⁶² as the manifold into one taste, you will seize the vital essence of all of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* and you will have developed the strength of wisdom and obtain mastery over all activities.

Amazing! The profound path of the special teaching,

Which is indispensable to attain enlightenment in this life,

Can be accomplished through effort -- that is the nature of things.

[231] But being spontaneously accomplished without effort is a superior skill.

When you tame demons and enemies with ABHICĀRYA,

It is a speech known as the two accomplishments fulfilling passions.

It even has the capacity to silence the wrathful voice of Viṣṇu.

²⁶² Body, speech and mind.

Is that not the intent of the *Vidyottama*[*tantra*]?

Likewise, if you do not possess the keypoints of the fortress, precipice and life-force²⁶³

You will be bound by clinging to ordinary appearances.

Thus it will be hard to enter the path to enlightenment,

So possessing the keypoints of oral instruction is essential.

The keypoints for the meditation of the three *maṇḍalas* [mentioned] here,

The instructions of the knowledge holder gurus are the stream of Ganges

entering the ocean of effortless realization

and becoming a nectar of life for fortunate ones wishing for liberation.

When the heroic *Heruka* of wrathful compassion

Sets out to conquer demons and enemies who possess wrong view,

He is endowed with the power and force that grinds the life force of *samaya* breakers

Into dust with the spinning of the wheel of weapons.

When the *Kīla* of existence that cuts through the three existences,

²⁶³ The fortress of the view (*lta ba'i rdzong*), the precipice of meditation (*sgom pa'i 'phrang*), and the life-force of action (*spyod pa'i srog*).

Endowed with four intentions, fully has pierced its object,

May all beings traverse the path of supreme enlightenment

And become inseparable from the pervasive lord – Vajrasattva.

This Kīlaya deity instruction, which is arranged in a manner that is easy to read and apply to ones own being, [232] was arranged with an altruistic mind and pure faith and wishes having -- while fearing forgetfulness -- properly heard the oral instructions [spoken] by the loving kindness of the pervasive lord of all buddha families, the great Treasure revealer and dharma king; [Mchog gyur gling pa]. Taking the sequence of the master's advice and oral instructions as the foundation they were slightly elaborated upon according to the teaching traditions of past sacred knowledge holders. This was written at the Akaniṣṭha Karma Mountain in the Vajra Arrayed Palace of Secret Mantra, the abode of the supreme siddha, by the monk from Tsha ba -- Karma rin chen rnam rgyal -- who, in terms of both natural and acquired qualities, ranks lowest among all students and servants of the great Treasure revealer guru. By the power of whatever goodness [may come from this] may the lotus feet of the knowledge holders, the supreme refuge, be firm for an ocean of aeons and may it be a cause for all beings to fully conquer the army of the four demons. *Sujaya!*

Part IV: Tibetan Texts

གསུངས། གཏིར་ཆོས་གསར་པར་མ་ཟད། གྲོ་སྤྱོད་ཕུག་ཇོགས་སོགས་ཀྱང་རང་གིས་ཉམས་སྲུངས་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་བཅོམ་
 པ་དང་། ལྷ་གང་ཡིན་དེ་རང་གིས་རབ་འབྱིང་ཐ་མའི་བསྟེན་སྒྲུབ་ཏུགས་ཐོན་པ་ཞིག་གིས་དབང་དང་མན་ངག་གཞན་ལ་
 བྱིན་པ་དེས་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་བ་མངོན་སུམ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རང་མ་སྟོན་པས་སོགས་ཞེས་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པ་བཞིན་ནོ།
 །འོན་ཀྱང་དབང་ཁྲིད་སོགས་ལ་རང་གིས་སྤྱོད་བྱ་⁴⁷⁷ དང་བསྟེན་སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་མ་ཐོན་ཀྱང་། སེལ་མེད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་
 ཁྱུངས་ཚད་ལྡན་ཡོད་ན་གཞན་ལ་དབང་སོགས་བྱས་པས་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྟོན་དུ་རུང་བར་འགྱུར། གསར་ཆོས་གཏིར་གྱི་
 ཁྱུངས་ནི་པད་འབྱུང་རེད། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ནི་གཏིར་སྟོན་ཁོན་ལ་ཐུག་པས་དེ་ལ་ཚད་ལྡན་གྱི་དག་སྤྱང་དང་ཉམས་སྤྱོད་གི་
 རྫོང་ཏུགས་མེད་ན་དེས་གཞན་ཇི་ལྟར་སྟོན་གྲོལ་དུ་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དེས་པར་རྫོང་ཏུགས་ཡོད་དགོས་སོ། །གལ་ཏེ་ཉི་བརྒྱུད་
 བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཆེ་སྟེ་མ་ན། ཉི་བརྒྱུད་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་སྲིད་ཀྱི། གཏིར་ཆོས་རྟིང་པ་ཆོ་ལ་རིང་བརྒྱུད་དང་། དེའི་
 སྟོང་ཉི་བརྒྱུད་ཐོབ་ནས་གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་བའི་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཚན་ཁ་ཆེ་བར་བྱས་ན་དེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི། གསར་པ་ནི། རིང་
 བརྒྱུད་མེད་པས་ཏྲོག་ལྡན་དག་ཡིད་མི་ཆོམ་ལ། ཉི་བརྒྱུད་ལ་ཐེ་ཆོམ་ཟ་བའང་སྲིད་པས་འདོན་ཆ་གསར་པ་ཡིན་ཅི་ལ་
 དགོས། པད་འབྱུང་ལ་འང་ཆོག་སྒྲུ་མ་དང་ཆོག་བདུན་དང་བརྩ་བུ་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ན་བར་ཆད་སེལ་བ་དང་
 དངོས་གྲུབ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་འབྱུང་ངེས་ལ། དེ་ལྟར་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་བྱུང་བ་དེས་དོན་འབྱུང་གྱི། བྱིན་རྒྱབས་འཇུག་པ་ལ།
 དུས་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་བ་དང་གང་ཟག་རེ་རེའི་ངོས་སྒྲུལ་གྱི་ཆོག་འདོན་རྒྱ་གསར་པ་རེ་རེ་མེད་ན་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་མི་འཇུག་པ་གལ་ཡིན་ཏེ།
 མདོ་དང་རྒྱུད་ལྷེ་ཆེན་པོ་ནམས་ལ་བསྐལ་པ་འཕམ་བསྐལ་པ་ཆད་⁴⁷⁸ མེད་པའི་ཕྱི་མའི་སྤྱ་མཐར་ཐུག་གི་བར་དུ་སྤྱས་
 བསྒྲུབས་ཀྱང་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་དང་དངོས་གྲུབ་མི་འབྱུང་བ་མི་སྲིད་དེ། སངས་རྒྱུས་བཙུང་ལྡན་འདས་བཞིན་ནོ། །དེས་ན་
 རང་གི་ཚུ་མ་ཆོས་ལ་གཏིར་བརྩ་བྱས་ན་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ལྷངས་བཏབ་པ་དང་། ཆོས་ལ་དབང་ཐོས་ནས་ལྷེ་ལ་ཞིང་རྩོམ་པའི་རྣམ་
 སྟོན་སྤྱོད་རོ། །དག་སྤྱང་གི་གཤིང་ཚོད་དང་དཔེ་ཐུག་ལུང་གསུམ་འདི་ཡིན་གྱི་གཤིང་ཚོད་མེད་པའི་ཉམས་སྤྱོད་དངོས་ཀྱི་
 སྤྱང་བ་ཟེའི་ཤར་བ་ནི་ལེགས་ན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་བཅད་འཆད་ཚུ་མ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ལམ་སྤྱིས་ན་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ལ་དུས་དགེ་ལྟས་
 སྤྱོད་སྤྱངས་པ་རང་གི་ཉམས་སྤྱང་དགེ་བའི་མཚན་མ་ཙམ་ཡིན་སྲིད་ཀྱི། གཞན་སྟོན་ངས་ཡིན་མིན་མ་ངས། ལྷ་འདྲེའི་
 བརྩ་བག་གིས་དོལ་ཆོས་དང་ས་གཏིར་ལྷ་བུ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་གཞན་ལ་གནོད་པའི་ལོག་སྟོན་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲུལ་བ་ཡིན་པས། ཆོག་ཆལ་
 ཆོལ་བྱི་ཤེས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་གཏིར་སྟོན་ཡིན་རྟོགས་གྱིས་སྟེལ་མི་རུང་སྟེ། སྤྱ་འགྱུར་གྱི་ལུང་དང་མན་ངག་ཀུན་ལས།
 མཁའ་འགོ་མ་རང་གི་དབང་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྷ་འདྲེ་གཞི་མཁའ་འགོ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་རྣལ་

འཕྱོར་སྒྲུབ་པ་པོ་ལ་དྲོད་ཀྱི་ལ་བའི་ཉམས་ཆོས་དང་གྲུབ་ཏུགས་སྒྲུབ་ཆོག་གི་མཐུ་བསྐྱེད་པས། རང་གིས་མངོན་ཆོས་དུ་
 བཟུང་ནས། དེའི་དབང་དུ་གྱུར་ན་མཐར་ཆོས་རྣམ་དག་འགྲུབ་པའི་བར་ཆད་དུ་འགྱུར་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་ཤེས་དགོས།
 དེས་ན་༼⁴⁷⁹༽ ཉམས་སྤང་མི་ལས་ལུང་བསྟན་ཟེ་ཟེ་བདེན་མིན་བརྟུན་མིན་འདི་འདྲ་ལུང་མི་བརྒྱབ་པར་གསང་སྟེ་རང་གྲོ་ལ་
 དུ་བྱས་ན་ཆོས་པ་ལེགས་པོ་འོང་བ་མངོན་སུམ་གྱུ་བ། ཆོས་པ་དང་རྣམ་གཡིང་གྲགས་འདོད་བྱས་ན་བར་ཆད་དུ་འགྱུར་བ་
 མངོན་སུམ་མཐོང་བས། ད་ཤེས་མི་ཤེས་གྲུབ་མ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་འུང་གཏིར་ཆོས་ཟེར་བའི་ཡི་གེ་མང་པོ་བྲི་རྒྱུ་འདི་བཞག་ན་
 ལེགས། ཡལ་པ་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་གསར་ངེས་ཏེ་ཅང་མ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་བབ་དང་རང་གཞན་ཀྱང་ལ་ཡན་ངེས་སོ། །ཁ་
 ཅིག་གཏིར་ཆོས་བྲིས་ཟེན་ཉལ་ཉལ་རྣམས་རིགས་བརྒྱད་²⁶⁶ དང་སྟོབ་བརྒྱད་ནས་འདི་ཉམས་མི་རུང་ཅི་དར་དགོས་ཟེར་གྱིང་།
 བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ལུང་མན་ངག་གི་ཆོས་དང་གཏིར་རྙིང་ཆད་ལྟན་རྣམས་མ་རྟུབ་པར་སྟེལ་སྟུབ་ན། དེར་མ་འདུས་པའི་དོན་ཟབ་
 མོ་དང་ལས་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་བྱུང་འཕགས་ཡན་ངེས་ཅང་མ་མཐོང་བས། མི་རེའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་འཛིན་པ་འདི་ཆག་བཞག་མེད་པའི་
 ལུགས་སུ་འགྱུར་བས་བསྟན་རྙིང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་བསྐྱེད་བ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་ནས། དག་སྤང་དང་གཏིར་ཆོས་རྣམ་དག་རེ་ཡིན་
 ན་ཟུར་རྒྱན་ལྟ་བུར་བྱས་ན་ལེགས་ཀྱི་རྟུབ་མི་བྱ་བའི་ཆོས་གང་ཡིན་སྟོབ་ཀྱིས་ཤེས་དགོས་ཀྱི། ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་ཆད་རྟུབ་མི་
 རུང་བ་ཅི་ཡོད་དེ། དེ་རྟུབ་པས་ཐབས་ཆག་ཅི་ཡང་མི་འབྱུང་། རྒྱུད་ལུང་མན་ངག་གིས་ཟབ་ཆོས་ཆན་རེ་རེ་ཡིན་ནའང་
 དོན་ཆེ་བས་མི་རྟུབ་པར་འཛིན་དགོས་སོ། །ཡང་བསྟོམ་ན་༼⁴⁸⁰༽ རྫོགས་ཆེན་རྒྱུད་ལུང་མན་ངག་གི་དོན་འདུས་ཀྱི་
 གནད་གྲོང་ཆེན་རབ་འབྱུངས་ཀྱིས་གསུང་འདི་ཆོ་བས་གོ་རྒྱུ་ཟབ་ཅིང་བཟང་བ་དང་། ཉམས་ལེན་གནད་དུ་འགྲོ་ལུགས་
 གཞན་ཡོད་མི་སྲིད་པས། འདི་བས་ལྷག་པར་རྫོགས་ཆེན་གོ་རྒྱུ་གསར་དུ་ཅི་འདུག་སྟོས་ལ། འདི་བཞིན་ཉམས་སུ་
 འོངས། འདི་ལ་བྲིན་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཡོད། ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་སྤྲུམ་པོ་རྟོགས་པ་མཐར་བྲིན་པ་
 ཡིན། ད་ཡང་རང་མ་ལན་ན་ཆོས་འདི་མི་ལན། བཏོན་ན་བཀའ་མའི་ཆོག་རྣམས་དང་གཏིར་མ་བཀའ་དགོངས་སོགས།
 མདོར་ན་ཉང་ཆོས་དབང་བྱང་གཏིར་རྒྱ་སྤྱིང་པ་ཀར་སྤྱིང་སོགས་དེ་སྤྲུམ་པོ་རྟོགས་ཆད་ལྟན་བྱུང་བ་འདི་ཆོའི་གཞུང་ན་ལྟ་
 རབ་འབྱུངས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་ཡོད། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རྒྱས་བསྟུས་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས་རང་ཉམས་བསྟན་པ་ཅི་འདོད་ཡོད། ལས་
 ཆོགས་སྒྲུབ་ཆོགས་གཏོ་སྒྲུབ་ཆོགས་ཡོད་པས་དེ་བཞིན་ཉམས་ལེན་བྱས་ན་བྲིན་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡོད། དེ་སྤྲུམ་ཆོས་འདི་དག་

²⁶⁶ MI: *rgyud*.

གི་གྲུབ་པའི་ལག་ཁྲེས་ཐོན་པ་ཡིན། རང་གིས་འབྱུང་²⁶⁷ ན་ཚོས་འདིས་མ་འབྱུང་²⁶⁸ བ་མེད། ད་སྐབས་ཐབས་རེ་བྱུང་
མངོན་རྟོགས་དང་འདོན་ཆ་ཉལ་ཉལ་ཚིག་དོན་སྤར་བས་ཟབ་པ་ཕར་ཞོག། སྟོགས་སུ་འང་མི་ཕྱིན་པ་ཞིག་བཏོན་པས་དགོས་པ་
ལྷག་པོ་མི་ཆེ། ཆེ་བས་མ་ན་ཅི་འདོད་མཛོད། སྤུ་མ་ཚོ་སྐབས་པས་འབྲས་བུ་མ་གྲུབ་ན་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་མིན་བསམ་ཐུབ།
གསར་པས་མ་ཕན་མི་ཤེས་པ་⁴⁸¹ ། འབྱུང་ན་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཟེ་ཞིང་ལོག་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་དེ་ལ་དགོས་པ་ཅི་ཡོད། གལ་ཏེ་ཡིད་ཆེས་
ནས་ཚོག་གསར་པ་²⁶⁹ རེ་བཏོན་པ་ཅམ་ལ་འགལ་བ་ཆེར་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ། སྤུ་མ་དག་གིས་ཚོག་སྒྲིག་སྤུ་མ་ཚོགས་དང་འབྲུལ་པ་
གསར་པ་གསལ་ལ་འདོན་དགའ་འདི་མི་ཤེས་པའི་གསར་པས་ཆེ་བར་ཟད་དོ། །བརྩོམས་ན་རྟོག་གིང་འབྲས་ཀྱང་ཆོག་
ལེགས་པ་དང་། དོན་རྒྱུད་ལུང་མཐུན་པ། མན་ངག་སྤུ་མ་ཚོགས་སྤུ་མར་བཅུབ་སྟེ་བྲི་ཤེས་ཀྱང་། དེ་གཏེར་ཆོས་སུ་
བྱས་ན་ཚོག་པོའི་ལས་གཞི་དང་སྤུ་མར་རྩུན་ཁེགས་བཀལ་བའི་ལས་མི་བཟད་པར་འབྱུང་། བསྟན་བཅོས་སུ་བྱས་ནས་རྩུན་
མེད་ཅིང་དད་པ་ཕན་པས་བྱས་ན་མ་ཁས་གྲུབ་ན་མས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་དང་རྗེས་སུ་མི་མཐུན་པ་ཅི་ཡོད། དེས་གཏེར་ལ་བྱུངས་འབྲི་
ན་རྒྱུ་འདི་ངས་པ་ཡིན་ན་དེར་ཟད། མིན་ན་ཤིན་ཏུ་མི་བཟད་པའི་ལས་ཏེ། གལ་ཏེ་རང་མིན་ཡང་བྱེད་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་
བསྐྱེད་ནས་མ་བྱས་དབང་མེད་ཡིན་ན་ལེགས་ཉེས་ཅི་ཡིན་རང་ཐག་ཚད་ན་ལེགས། མིན་པར་གཞན་ལ་བྲི་དགོས་བསྐྱར་ན་
ལེགས་འབྲ། དེང་སང་གཏེར་སྟོན་ཟེར་བའི་མི་འདི་ཚོ། འཛམ་གླིང་བོད་ལ་ཕན་བྱེད་ཡིན་ན་སྟོན། །རང་མགོ་
ལེགས་ཐོན་ཆེ་རིང་བདེ་ལྷན་ཞིག། །བྱུང་ན་ལེགས་ཏེ་དེ་ཡང་དགའ་བར་སྤྲང་། །གངས་ཅན་འདི་ན་གཏེར་སྟོན་གཏེར་
ཆོས་ལ། །ཕལ་ཆེར་མི་དད་ལོག་པར་ལྷ་བ་མང་། །དེ་དག་མ་སྐྱོབ་ཅི་བྱ་དད་པ་ན་མས། །ལྷག་པར་
⁴⁸² །སྐྱོབ་ན་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་མངོན་རྟོགས་ཡིན། །དེ་ལྷན་འང་མ་དད་རྒྱུད་པ་དང་། །དད་ན་མས་ལྷག་པར་དར་བ་ལྷ་
ཅི་ཞིག། །ཕལ་ཆེར་གོ་ལྷག་རྒྱལ་དུ་མཐོང་བས་ན། །འདི་འབྲུ་ཅི་ཞེས་སོམ་ཉི་ཅེས་མི་སྟེ། །ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཆེན་པོས་རྗེས་སུ་
བཟུང་ཡིན་ན། །ཉམས་དང་རྟོགས་པ་འཕམ་ཆེ་རིང་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ཞིང་། །བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་མཛད་ན་ལེགས།
།འདོན་རྒྱུ་ཅམ་ཞིག་བསྟན་པས་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱ། །འདོན་རྒྱུ་བྱིན་ཆེན་ཡིད་ཆེས་དེ་སྤྲ་ཡོད། །གསར་བྱུང་དེ་བས་ཟབ་པ་གཅིག་

²⁶⁷ MI: *byung*.

²⁶⁸ MI: *byung*.

²⁶⁹ MI: *gsar ba*.

ལེགས་ཏེ། གཏེར་ནས་ཁྱིའོ་མིན་པ་གང་ཡང་འབྱུང་། ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་མཁོ་བའི་ཆོས་གང་ཡང་གཏེར་ནས་མི་
འབྱུང་དོན་མེད་ལ། ནད་ཞི་བའི་སྤྲན་དྲི་ཆོར་བ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཕན་པ་དང་གསོ་དཔུང་དོ་མཚར་གྱི་གཞུང་སོགས་གཏེར་ནས་སྟེང་
པའམ། གཞན་ཡང་དཔེ་ཆ་ལག་རྒྱ་བྱུང་ན་འང་སྒྲུབ་ལྟན་གྱི་གང་ཟག་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་བྱེད་ཡིན་འདུག་པས། གཏེར་སྟོན་
ཆོས་དེ་ལྟར་པད་འབྱུང་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པར་རིགས་སོ། །གཞན་ཡང་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་སོགས་ནི་སྟོགས་མའི་དུས་
སྟེ་འབྱུང་དགའ་མོད། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་པའི་ཆ་ཡི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཅི་རིགས་དོ་མཚར་ཅན་སྤྲུལ་བསྟུན་ཀྱང་ཡིད་མཚར་བ་བྱུང་
ན་རང་གཞན་ཀྱན་ལེགས་པར་འདུག་པས་དེ་ལྟར་སྟགས་བཞག་མཛོད། བསྐྱེད་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ས་ཟབ་ཆོས་ངེས་སྟོན་ན།

།རྟག་རྒྱ་དེ་སྒྲུབ་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རིགས་མོད། ཁོར་ཕྱིར་རྟག་རྒྱ་ལ་༼⁴⁸⁵༽བཞིན་རང་གི་ཆོས། གཞན་ལ་ཟོང་
བཞིན་བྱིས་པ་མ་མཐོང་ངམ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་བཤད་པས་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱ། བྱེད་རང་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཆོས།
།ཕར་འཛོང་མི་དགོས་རྒྱུར་ལ་འདོད་མཁན་འོང་། ཁོན་ཀྱང་བྱེད་རང་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ། ཡི་གེ་བྱིས་ནས་ཆེ་
བྲགས་ནོར་ཅན་རྣམས། གར་ཡོད་བྱེད་རང་ང་ཡི་ཆོས་བདག་ཅེས། ཆོལ་ཞིང་སྟན་བྲགས་འབའ་ཞིག་བསམ་པས་
གཡེངས། ཆོས་དེ་བསྟུབས་ཀྱང་ངས་ཕན་ཅི་ཞིག་མཐོང་། བྱུང་མེད་གཞུགས་བཟང་མཐོང་ན་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།
།མི་དད་ཁ་ཟེར་ཅན་ཆོ་བདུད་དུ་འབོད། རང་ཉིད་ཇི་འབངས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྒྲུབ་པར་འཛིན། བསྟུགས་རྒྱ་མང་ལ་ཕན་རྒྱ་
ཅི་ཡང་མེད། སངས་རྒྱུ་བསྟན་པའི་གནད་རྣམས་གང་ཡིན་དང་། སྤྱིང་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་ཆེ་བ་འདི་ཡིན་ཞེས།
།རུང་ཟད་ཅམ་ཞིག་རང་གིས་མ་ཤེས་ཀྱང་། རང་ཡི་ཆོས་འདི་ཀྱན་ལ་འཕགས་ཞེས་རྟོམ། བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དང་རྒྱལ་དབང་
པསྟེ་ཡི། བསྟན་པ་སྤྱིང་ལ་གཅེས་སྤྲུལ་མི་ཤེས་ཀྱང་། གངས་ཅན་རྒྱུད་པ་རྩོག་བྱེད་ང་ཡིན་ཞེས། ཁས་འཆེ་
འགགས་ལ་སྟག་ན་གཞན་ལས་དམན། རང་དོན་སྤང་དོར་ཕྱ་མོའང་ཅི་བཞིན་དུ། ཤེས་པ་དགོན་ན་གངས་ཅན་རྒྱལ་
ཁམས་ལ། ཕན་འདོགས་སྤང་དོར་སྟོན་པའི་ལུང་བསྟན་རྣམས། ལྟ་འདྲེས་བསྟུས་པའི་བརྩུ་བག་མ་ཡིན་ནམ།
།བསྟན་ལ་དད་༼⁴⁸⁶༽དང་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕན་པའི་སྟོ། ལེགས་པར་འབྱོངས་པའི་ལག་རྒྱུས་ཅི་མེད་པར། སྤྱིང་རྒྱུས་
གངས་ཅན་སྟོབ་ཕྱིར་སྤྲུལ་ཞེས་སྟོ། ཁྱོ་ལྟན་གཞན་གྱིས་བསྟུས་ན་གད་མོ་འཛོར། ན་རུང་སེམས་རྩ་འགྲུལ་བའི་མཐུ་
མེད་པར། འདོད་པས་བསྟུས་པའི་རྩུན་ལུང་སྟོགས་པ་སོགས། ཡིད་བརྟན་ཕེར་བའི་རྩུས་པ་རུང་ཟད་ཞིག མེད་
པ་དེས་གོ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཇི་ལྟར་སྟོབས། ཇི་ལྟར་བྱས་ཀྱང་གྲུབ་པའི་མཛོད་སྟོན་ཞེས། ཆོལ་ཞིང་གཞན་མགོ་སྟོར་བའི་

རྩོམ་པོ་རྣམས། །གཏིང་ལ་ཁུངས་འབྱིན་རྒྱལ་དབང་པུ་ལ། །རྩོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བརྟེན་བཅོལ་བ་འི་ལས་ངན་བསགས།
 །འགའ་ཞིག་ལྷ་འདྲེ་མཐུ་བོ་ཆེས་རྣོ་པའི། །གཏིང་མིན་གཏིང་འདྲ་སྒྲ་ཆོགས་འདོན་མོད་གྱི། །རང་གིས་རང་རྣོ་མ་གྲུབ་
 པའི་གལ་ལ་བསྟེགས། །བདུད་གྱིས་བསྐྱུས་པར་ཅུང་ཟད་མ་འཕྲིག་མང་། །རྒྱལ་དབང་པུ་སྐྱུས་བསྐྱུས་པའི་ཆོས་ཡིན་ན།
 །ང་ཡི་ཆོས་འདི་གཏིང་མ་ཡིན་ནམ་མིན། །ཅི་འདྲ་སྒྲ་ཞིང་གཞན་ལ་འདྲི་བ་དེ། །འགལ་ཉགས་ཡིན་ནམ་གྲོ་ལྷན་
 རྣམས་གྱིས་ཤེས། །རང་གིས་རང་ཆོས་སྐྱུབ་ལ་སྒྲོ་བ་ཡིས། །ནན་ཏན་ཉམས་སྲུ་ལེན་པར་མ་བྱས་ན། །དེ་ལ་གཞན་
 དག་གྲོ་ལྷན་སྲུ་ཞིག་གིས། །ནན་ཏན་འབྱུག་པ་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཅི་ཡིས་ཡིན། །སྒྲུན་པོས་ཅི་ཟེར་བདེན་པར་འཛིན་པ་ལ།
 །འདི་ཟབ་འདི་ཉིད་ཉམས་སྲུ་ལེངས་ཞེས་སྲུ། །གདམས་པས་⁴⁸⁷ །དེས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་འཛིན་མོད་གྱི། །ཆོས་གྱི་སྲུ་
 གེ་དེ་ལ་བྱུང་བར་ཟད། །འདོན་རྒྱུས་དབུལ་བའི་སྲུ་གེ་སྲུ་ལའང་མེད། །བཏོན་ན་ཡན་འབྲས་འཕགས་ན་ལེགས་མོད་གྱི།
 །དངོས་གྲུབ་རྒྱུང་ལ་བར་ཆད་ཆེ་བ་དང་། །ཡིད་གཉིས་ཟ་བཞིན་མ་བཏོན་དེ་བཏོན་ཅི། །ཆོས་ལ་བསྐྱུས་ན་ལེགས་
 ལེགས་འདོན་སྒྲོ་འདྲ། །དད་བཞིན་ནན་ཏན་བཙོན་པ་ཇི་རྒྱད་འགྲོ། །ཉམས་སྐྱང་གསོལ་བཏབ་ལག་རྩེས་འབའ་ཞིག་
 གིས། །ཐེ་ཆོམ་བསྐྱང་སྟེ་ཐམས་ཅད་འདྲ་ཕྱིར་སྦྱུང་། །མདོར་ན་བོན་པོ་འཕེལ་ཀ་དོལ་མནན་ལྟར། །བོན་གཤིས་ཅན་
 གྱི་²⁷⁰ །གཏིང་ཆོས་དེ་དང་འདྲ། །དེ་ལ་ཐེ་ཆོམ་ཟ་བའི་དུས་བྱུང་ན། །མཐུ་ལྷན་ཡོད་ན་ཡིད་གཉིས་སེལ་བར་རིགས།
 །ཅེས་པའང་འཕྲལ་དྲན་མི་ཡམ་པས་སོ། །

²⁷⁰ MI: gyis.

Tibetan Text for *The Sacred Tantra of the Great Purpose of the Four Kilas*

⁷¹ ཡང་གསང་བྱུགས་ཀྱི་ཕུར་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཙུམ་ཕུར་བཞི་དོན་ཆེན་དམ་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་པུ།
⁷² སྤྱི་བཟླ་ཀུ་མུ་ར་ཡ་ན་མོ། ཡང་དག་པའི་སྐད་དུ་དོན་ཆེན་གཞི་རྩུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བུ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ནས་སྦྱིང་ཆེ་
 བློ་བའི་སྐུར་བཞེངས་པ་ནི། ཞལ་མི་བཟད་པ་མཐིང་ནག་གཡས་དཀར་གཡོན་དམར་བུ། ཡུག་མི་བཟད་པའི་གར་
 འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ཆེན་ཅེ་དགུ་ཅེ་ལྷ་མེད་པུར་ཁྱེད་ཕུར་པ་གདེངས་པུ། རམས་པའི་སྐུ་ལ་དུར་ཁྱོད་ཆས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་།
 གཤོག་པ་གདེངས་ཤིང་ཞབས་བཞི་བཟད་ནས་འདོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་ཐོག་བབ་པ་ལྟར་བྱོན་ནས། འདོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རུ་
 རྩ་བསྒྲུལ་པུ། ཕུར་པོ་དུར་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཡས་ཁང་དུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པ་དེའི་ནང་གཡོ་བ་མེད་པར་བཞུགས་ནས་འདི་སྐད་
 ཅེས་གསུངས་སོ། རྩྱེ། རབ་རུ་གསང་བ་⁷³ བྱུགས་ཀྱི་སྦྱིང་པུ། གཙང་རྟག་བདེ་བའི་དོན་ཆེན་ཡིས། ཀུན་
 གཞི་ཀ་དག་དབྱིངས་སུ་འདེབས། ངན་དབྱིངས་ཟིག་དབྱིངས་མེད་ཡིན། ཡོ་བཟླ་ཀྱི་ལི་ཀྱི་ལ་ཡ་རྩྱེ་པུ། ཅེས་
 གསུངས་པས་སྒོ་ཆེ་བའི་གང་ཟག་ཐམས་ཅད་དབྱིངས་ཡེ་བྱང་འཇུག་གི་ངང་དུ་བསྒྲུལ་ལོ། ཕུར་བཞི་དོན་ཆེན་དམ་པའི་
 རྒྱུད་ལས། ཟིག་པ་ཀ་དག་གི་ཕུར་པ་བསྟན་པའི་ལུ་སྟེ་དང་པོའོ། ཡང་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོས་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་འདུ་འབྲལ་མེད་
 ཀྱང་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱས་འདེབས་སྦྱོང་བའི་རྩལ་མཛད་དེ་འདི་གསུངས་སོ། རྩྱེ། བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལས།
 འཁྲིལ་ཆགས་ལྷན་པའི་རྒྱུན་བྱས་ནས། སྤྱི་བོ་བྱུ་བཞི་ལྷན་པ་ལ། མགྱིན་པ་བྱུ་བཞི་ཕུར་དུ་སྒྲུབས། ⁷⁴ ལྷེ་
 བ་ལོགས་བཞི་བྱོན་དུ་བསྟན། སྦྱིང་གར་ཁ་སྒྲུད་ཤིན་རུ་རྒྱས། སྐར་ཡང་གསང་བར་ཆད་མེད་པར། བྱུ་བཞི་དག་
 རུ་འཁྲིལ་བ་ལས། རྩྱེ་སྟེ་བྱུ་བ་རབ་རུ་བསྟན། རྩྱེ་ཐར་གསུམ་གྱི་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཐིམ། བདེ་བའི་རྩལ་ནི་མཁའ་
 ཡིས་འདོན། བདེ་སྦྱང་འདུ་འབྲལ་མེད་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱན་ཆད་མེད་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྟོར། དེས་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་དབྱིངས་སུ་
 ཐེབས། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ། ཕུར་བཞི་དོན་ཆེན་དམ་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལས། ཟིག་ལེ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཕུར་པ་བསྟན་པའི་
 ལུ་སྟེ་གཉིས་པའོ། ཡང་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱི་གནས་རྩམས་ནས་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱ་བློ་བའི་ཆོགས་སྤྱོས་ཏེ་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་

²⁷¹ Page numbers refer to Mchog gyur 1982k.

གསུངས་སོ་ རྩི་ སྤྱིང་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་འབར་བ་ཡིས་ འགྲོ་བ་ཀུན་ལ་རབ་བྱམས་ཤིང་ སྤྱིང་རྩེ་སེམས་ཅན་མི་
 གཏོང་སྟེ་ དགའ་བ་ཆེན་པོས་རབ་འབྱུག་པའི་ ཀུན་ལ་བཏང་སྟོམས་ལྡན་པ་ཡིས་ ཐུགས་རྩེ་སེམས་ཅན་མི་
 གཏོང་བར་ གདུག་ཅན་གཏུམ་པོའི་ཆོགས་རྣམས་ཀུན་ ཐུགས་རྩེའི་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱལ་བར་བྱ་ ཕྱིར་མི་ལྟོག་
 པར་འགྲོ་ལ་ཐེབས་ བོ་ཉ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བླ་ལ་མངགས་ ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ་ ཕུར་བཞི་དོན་ཆེན་དམ་པའི་རྒྱད་
 ལས་ སྤྱིང་རྩེ་ཐུགས་རྩེའི་དབྱར་ཐག་གི་ཕུར་པ་ ༡༧༩ བསྟན་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟེ་གསུམ་པའོ་ ཡང་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་
 དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ཨོ་ཐུམ་བཅུ་གཅིག་རྒྱུར་ སྐྱ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ལས་སྤྲས་མཆོག་ཉེར་གཅིག་སྤྱལ་ཏེ་འདི་གསུངས་སོ་
 གང་གིས་འདུལ་བར་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ བཀའ་ལས་འདས་པའི་སྤྱི་གཅིག་རྣམས་ རྩེ་གི་སྤྱོར་བས་བསྐྱལ་བར་བྱ་
 གཏུམ་པོའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ དམ་ཆོག་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱོར་བསྟོམ་སྟེ་ སྤྱལ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུགས་བཅུར་བཀྱི་
 ཐུག་བསྟན་ཆེན་པོས་དམིགས་བྱ་བ་ཀུག་ བོ་ཉ་ཆེན་མོས་བསྐྱམས་འཆིངས་སྟོས་ གཏུམ་པོའི་ཆོགས་རྣམས་ཐམས་
 ཅད་བསྐྱལ་ བྱང་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་རྒྱ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་གདུང་འཛོལ་ གཞོད་ཅིང་གདུག་
 པའི་དབྱ་དང་བགེགས་ བདུད་དང་བར་དུ་གཅོད་པ་ལ་ བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོའི་མཐུས་བསྐྱལ་ལ་ ཡུད་ཅམ་གྱིས་
 ཉི་བཀྱག་བྱས་ལ་ སྤྱོད་ཕྱལ་མཐུ་བརྒྱུག་གཟུགས་ལ་དབབ་ བྱད་དུ་གཞུག་ལ་སྟོས་པར་བྱ་ ལྷ་བའི་རྫོང་དང་
 རྣམ་པར་ལྡན་ སྟོམ་པའི་འཕྲང་ལས་རྣམ་པར་ཕྱོལ་ སྤྱོད་པ་སྤྱིང་རྩེའི་སྟོག་དང་ལྡན་ གསལ་བ་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་
 པ་ཡིས་ རྩེ་གི་ཕུར་པ་དབྱ་ལ་འདེབས་ ཕྱིར་མི་ལྟོག་པར་བྱས་ནས་ཀྱང་ ༡༧༦ ཤིན་རྒྱུ་མི་བསྐྱན་ཐུགས་
 རྩེས་བསྐྱལ་ ལས་ཀྱི་རྩེས་གཅོད་རྣམ་གསུམ་བྱ་ ཞི་རྒྱས་དབང་གསུམ་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ་ སྤྱིད་པ་རྩེ་ཕུར་པར་བལྟ་
 བདུད་བཅོམ་དབྱ་བསད་དབྱིངས་སུ་བྱོལ་ ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་བསྟན་པ་རྩུགས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ་ དེ་ནས་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་
 ལྷ་ཆོགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཐེམ་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ་ ཕུར་བཞི་དོན་ཆེན་དམ་པའི་རྒྱད་ལས་ རྩེ་གི་ཕུར་པ་མཐར་ཐོགས་
 བསྟན་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟེ་བཞི་པའོ་ ས་མ་ལ་ རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ འདི་ལྷར་བེ་ཏོ་ཏེ་འབུམ་ནས་ ཅུ་དུམ་ཕུར་བཞིའི་རྒྱད་
 འདི་ནི་ བསྐྱབས་གིས་འདི་ཕན་དུ་ སྤྱོད་པའི་སྤྱང་བ་མཆོག་རྒྱུས་ དེ་ནི་ཕྱིར་བས་དོན་ཆེད་དུ་ མི་བཟད་
 གཏོར་དུ་སྤྲས་ཏེ་བཞག་ སྐལ་ལྡན་གཅིག་དང་འཕྲད་པར་ཤོག་ ཟབ་རྒྱ་ གཉན་རྒྱ་ གཏོར་རྒྱ་ སྤྲས་
 རྒྱ་ གསང་རྒྱ་ ཁམ་རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་

Tibetan Text for *The Practice Manual of Combined Activity*

༼²¹³༽²⁷² ཡང་གསང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཕུར་གཅིག་ལས་ཀྱང་ ལས་བྱུང་ཕྱིན་ལས་འདུས་པ་བཞུགས་སོ་²⁷³ ཅེ

༼²¹⁴༽ སྤྱི་བཙུ་ཀུ་ར་ན་མོ་མེ་ སྤྱིང་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབྱིངས་ནས་བཞེངས་ཀྱང་ རྗེ་གཞོན་རུང་ཕྱག་བགྱིས་ནས་ཀྱང་
བྱི་ཏོ་ཏ་མ་འབྲུམ་སྤྱི་ཡི་མེ་ སྤྱིང་པོ་དོན་བསྐྱུས་ཕྱིན་ལས་བསྐྱེབས་ཀྱང་ དེ་ལ་སྤྱོན་འགྲོ་དངོས་གཞི་རྗེས་ཀྱང་ སྤྱོན་འགྲོ་སྤྱོར་
བ་ཚོགས་བསགས་པ་ཀྱང་ དང་པོ་དབེན་པའི་གནས་དག་ཏུ་ སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཀའ་ཞིང་ དགྲིལ་འཁོར་
བཞེངས་ལ་སྐྱབ་རྗེས་བཀོད་ཀྱང་ སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་མཚོད་པ་བཤམས་ཀྱང་ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་སྤྲོན་བཤེར་འདུག་ཀྱང་
གཉིས་པ་གནས་བདག་མཚོད་པ་དང་ཀྱང་ སྤྱོགས་བཅུའི་རྒྱལ་བ་མཐུན་ཏུ་བསྐྱོམ་ཀྱང་ སྐྱབས་འགྲོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཡན་བདུན་
འབྲུལ་ཀྱང་ བཀའ་བསྐྱོ་མཚམས་བཅད་བཅད་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཀྱང་ སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བཤམས་པ་བྱུང་ བསྐྱབ་པར་དམ་བཅའ་
བྱིན་ཆེན་དབབ་ཀྱང་ ༼²¹⁵༽ མཚོད་པ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ སྤྱི་ཆེངས་བཞིན་ཏུ་བལྟ་བར་བྱུང་
གཉིས་པ་དངོས་གཞི་ཏིང་གསུམ་ནི་ཀྱང་ རྗེ་འབྲོས་པས་ཞེ་སྤང་གཅོད་ཀྱང་ མཚོན་ཆ་²⁷⁴ སྤྱོན་པོ་འབར་བ་ནི་
ནམ་མཁའི་དགྲིལ་ནས་ཐིག་པ་²⁷⁵ བཤར་ རྣམ་²⁷⁶ རྒྱ་ཏུ་བཞུགས་ཀྱང་ མ་རྒྱ་སྤྱུ་བ་ལྷ་མོ་²⁷⁷ ཀོ་ཏུ་རྟེན་ བོ་རྟེན་ཅི་རྟེན་རྟེན་
ལེ་ཡི་རུ་སྤྱི་ཀོ་²⁷⁸ རི་རྟེན་ཏི་ལི་རྟེན་རྟེན་ རྟེན་ འབྱུང་བ་ཆེན་པོ་མཁའ་ལས་བབ་ཀྱང་ ཀུན་བྱུང་ནམ་མཁའ་

²⁷² Page numbers refer to Mchog gyur 1982l (abbr. B).

²⁷³ B: omits *so*.

²⁷⁴ Mchog gyur 1982k (abbr. A): *mtshon chen*.

²⁷⁵ A: *thigs pa*.

²⁷⁶ B: *dhārma*.

²⁷⁷ B: *atma*.

²⁷⁸ A: KAM.

མཚན་ཆ་འཕེན་ རྩུ་ཁྲོད་ཆས་བརྒྱད་མེ་གྲོང་བཞུགས་ བསྐལ་པའི་མེ་ལྟར་གསལ་བར་བསྐོམ་ ཟླ་
 ༼²¹⁸གམ་ནང་དུ་སྤྱལ་པའི་སྤུ་སྤྱེད་ཁྲོ་བོ་འཛིགས་པ་ལ་ སྤྱེད་ལྟར་ཕུར་བུ་འབར་བའི་དབལ་²⁸¹ མེ་
 དཔུང་དབུས་སུ་སྐར་ལྟར་འབྱུགས་ སྤྱོད་ཁོར་སྤྱལ་པའི་ཁྲོ་མོ་བཞི་ བྱི་རོལ་དམ་ཅན་ཚོགས་རྣམས་གསལ་ ཨོ་
 བཟླ་གྱི་ལི་གྱི་ལ་ཡ་ས་བ་བེ་ལྷན་པ་རྩྱུ་པར་ རྩྱུ་ དམ་ཚིག་ཆེན་པོའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་འདིར་ ཡེ་ནས་དག་པའི་སྤྱེ་
 གསུང་ཐུགས་ ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྟ་ཡི་བདག་ཉིད་དུ་ བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་ཤིང་²⁸² དབང་བསྐྱར་རྩི་ ཨོ་ལྷུ་རྩྱུ་ ཨོ་
 རྩྱུ་²⁸³ རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ་ལྷུ་ ཨོ་བཟླ་གྱི་ལི་གྱི་ལ་ཡ་ས་པ་རི་ལྷ་ར་²⁸⁴ བཟླ་ས་ལྷ་ར་²⁸⁵ རྩྱུ་ ཆོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་
 ནས་ སྤྱིད་པ་དོན་ཕུར་བུའི་ལྷ་ དམ་ཚིག་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་འདི་ལ་དགོངས་ ཡེ་ཤེས་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་འབྲུབ་པར་
 མཛོད་ བཟླ་ས་ལྷ་ར་ ཡེ་ཤེས་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་མདུན་བྱོན་བསམ་ རྩྱུ་ སྤྱིད་པ་ཕུར་བུའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་འདིར་
 ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁྲོ་བོ་གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ་ ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁྲོ་བོ་གཤེགས་ནས་ཀྱང་ ཉགས་དང་མཚན་མ་བསྐྱན་པ་དང་ གྱི་
 ལ་ཡ་ཡི་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྟེལ་ ཨོ་བཟླ་གྱི་ལི་གྱི་ལ་ཡ་ས་པ་རི་ལྷ་²⁸⁶ ར་བཟླ་ས་ལྷ་ར་²⁸⁷ ར་རྩྱུ་པ་རྩྱུ་ རྩྱུ་ རྩུ་
 ཁྲོད་རབ་འཛིགས་གཞལ་ཡས་འདིར་ རུང་བསྐོལ་བའི་གདན་སྟེང་དུ་ ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་དཔལ་ལྷ་²¹⁹ ཆོགས་རྣམས་
 དབྱེས་ཤིང་བརྟན་པར་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་ ས་མ་ཡ་ཉིལ་ལྷན་ རྩྱུ་ ཆོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་ལས་སྐྱར་བཞེངས་པའི་
 ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་པའི་ཆོགས་རྣམས་ལ་ གུས་པའི་ཡིད་གྱིས་གར་དང་བཅས་ བརྒྱུད་བསྐྱམས་སྤྲུལ་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཞུའོ་ ཨ་
 ཉི་ལྷུ་རྩྱུ་ བུ་ཉི་ལྷུ་རྩྱུ་²⁸⁸ རྩྱུ་ རུང་²⁸⁹ བསྐལ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ མེ་ཉོག་བདུག་སྟོས་²⁹⁰ མར་མེ་ངོ་

²⁸¹ A: *dpal*.

²⁸² B: *cing*.

²⁸³ B: HŪṂ OM.

²⁸⁴ B: SAPARIBĀRA.

²⁸⁵ B: SAMAJAH.

²⁸⁶ B: SAPARIBĀRA.

²⁸⁷ A omits VAJRA SAMĀJAH.

²⁸⁸ B: ATI BHŪ HOḤ PRATI BHŪ HOḤ.

ཞལ་ཟས་རྒྱུ་ཤིང་ཐོད་ངའི་སྤྲུལ་། ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་ཡི་ཚོགས་ལ་འབྱུང་། མ་རྒྱ་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་པེ་²⁹¹ ཡུ་ལོ་གེ་གྲུ་རྒྱུ་²⁹² མི་བོ་དུ་ཤུ་ཕུ་ང་།
 རྟོ་ རྩྱི་ གཏི་མུག་བསྐལ་བའི་ཤ་ཆེན་དང་། འདོད་ཆགས་བསྐལ་བའི་ཁག་ཆེན་དང་། ཞེ་སྤང་བསྐལ་བའི་
 རུས་ཆེན་རྣམས་། དཔལ་ཆེན་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་ལ་འབྱུང་། མ་རྒྱ་མྱོ་²⁹³ ས་རྟ་གློ་²⁹⁴ རི་རི་ཉི་ཁུ་རི་། རང་བྱུང་།
 གཏོད་ནས་དག་པའི་རྒྱུ་། ཅ་བརྒྱད་སྟོང་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་སྤྲུལ་། ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་གས་སྦྱབ་པའི་རྒྱུ་། ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་ཡི་ཚོགས་
 ལ་འབྱུང་། སྤང་བརྒྱ་ཡུ་མི་ཉི་ཁུ་རི་། མཚན་དོན་སྦྱར་ཞིང་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྤངས་། ལྷེ་ཡི་དམ་ཚིག་དོན་རྒྱུ་། རྣལ་
 འབྱུང་ཅན་གྱི་²⁹⁵ རྩྱི་བསྐོམ་ཞིང་། ཨོ་ཡུ་རྩྱི་གིས་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྤངས་། ལྷེ་ལ་ཐེམ་པས་མཚོག་ཐོབ་འབྱུང་། སྤང་
 སྤྲུལ་རྩྱི་²⁹⁶ རྩྱི་ དུང་ཆེན་སྟོད་དུ་བྱུང་²⁹⁷ བསྐལ་། དམར་ཆེན་²²⁰ བསྐལ་མ་ཁའ་ལ་འབྱུང་། འཁོར་
 བསྟོར་པའི་རྟ་འདི་། དཔལ་ཆེན་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་ལ་འབྱུང་། མ་རྒྱ་རྟ་ཁུ་རི་། རྩྱི་ རྒྱུ་འབར་བའི་སྟོད་
 རང་དུ་། སྤྲུལ་གསུམ་བསྐལ་བའི་བ་ལོ་ཉི་། དཔལ་གྱི་གཏོར་མ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་། ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་ཡི་ཚོགས་ལ་འབྱུང་། མ་
 རྒྱ་བ་ལོ་ཉི་ཁུ་རི་། རྩྱི་ ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡུམ་གྱི་ཐུ་གའི་སྟོང་། བདེ་ཆེན་ཐབས་གྱིས་²⁹⁸ དོན་རྒྱུ་བ་། བདེ་སྟོང་།
 འདུ་འབྱུང་མེད་པ་འདི་། དཔལ་ཆེན་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་ལ་འབྱུང་། མ་རྒྱ་མུང་རྒྱུ་མོ་ཁྲ་ཕུ་ང་རྟོ་། རྩྱི་ ར་ལ་
 བར་ཆད་བྱེད་པའི་བགོགས་། ལྷེ་ལ་འོན་ཏེ་བདུད་ཀྱང་རུང་། ཨོ་ཡི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོར་བསྐལ་། དཔལ་ཆེན་

²⁸⁹ B: Rutra.

²⁹⁰ B: *bdug sbos*.

²⁹¹ A: DHÜPE.

²⁹² A: GANDHE.

²⁹³ B: MAHĀ MAṂSA.

²⁹⁴ A: KEM.

²⁹⁵ A: *gyis*?

²⁹⁶ A: omits HÜM.

²⁹⁷ B: Rutra.

²⁹⁸ A: *kyis*?

འཁོར་བཅས་ཞལ་དུ་བསྐྱབས། མ་རྩ་རྩ་བུ་རྩི། འཇིགས་པའི་དབྱངས་དང་རོལ་མོ་ཡིས། རྩྭ་ ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲིན་
 གཟི་བུ་འབར། བྲགས་སྟོང་གསུང་གིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་གཡོ། སྟིང་རྩེའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་སྟོང་གསུམ་བསྐྱལ། ཉེ་རྩ་ག་
 ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་བསྟོད། མི་དགེ་བཅུ་བསྐྱལ་ཁྱོ་ཆེན་བཅུ། ཕར་ཕྱིན་བཅུ་ལས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཡུམ། ཐབས་ཤེས་སྒྲི་
 སྒྲུལ་ཟ་གསོད་ཆོགས། ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་ལྷ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་བསྟོད། བསད་ཅིང་མནན་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ༄²²¹།
 ཐུགས་རྩེའི་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱལ་བའི་ཕྱིར། སྟིང་རྩེ་འདུས་པའི་གླི་ལ་ཡ། སྤྲུལ་མཆོག་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་བསྟོད།
 དཔལ་གྱི་སྒྲིན་སྤར་ཁས་སྤངས་པའི། ཆད་མེད་རྣམ་བཞིའི་སྟོ་མ་བཞི། ཕྱི་འཁོར་སྟོང་བ་པོ་ཉའི་ཆོགས། ཕྱིན་ལས་
 སྒྲུབ་ཕྱིར་ཕྱག་འཆལ་བསྟོད། དེ་ནས་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་ནི། ཨོྃ་བཟླ་གླི་ལི་གླི་ལ་ཡ་རྩྭ་ཕྱིར། དག་པོ་སྤྱི་དྲིལ་སྟིང་པོ་
 ནི། ཨོྃ་བཟླ་གླི་ལི་གླི་ལ་ཡ་སྤར་བེ་སྒྲིན་བེ་རྩྭ་ཕྱིར། སྤྲུལ་སྤྱུ་འཛབ་བསྟོད་མཆོད་པ་བྱ། རྩེས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ཆོགས་
 བསྐྱང་²⁹⁹ དང་། བསྐྱལ་བསྐྱབ་ལོངས་སྟོང་ལྷག་མ་གཏང་། བསྐྱལ་ཞིང་ཆད་མེད་བཟན་མ་སྟོང་། བོ་བརྟུང་ཆོ་
 འགྲུགས་མཆོད་བསྟོད་བསྐྱེད། ལྷར་³⁰⁰ ལྷར་སྟོན་ལམ་བཟུ་ཤིས་དང་། ལྷན་སྟོང་སྤྱི་ཆིངས་བཞིན་དུ་བྱ། ས་མ་ཡ་
 རྩྭ་རྩྭ་རྩྭ། སྒྲུལ་པའི་གཏོར་ཆེན་མཆོག་གྱུར་གྱིང་པས་ཀླུ་མི་དམ་ཅན་བྲག་ནས་སྒྲིན་དངས་པའི་གནམ་ལྷགས་ཕུར་སྟོམ་
 རྩྭ་མདུད་གྲུ་གསུམ་ནང་། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བྱང་བུ་གྲུ་རྩེའི་ཕྱག་བྲིས་ལ་ངོ་མཚར་བའི་བཀོད་པ་དང་བཅས་ལེགས་པར་ཡབ་པའི་
 ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་བརྒྱ་རྩྭ་ཐོ།།

²⁹⁹ A: *bskong*.

³⁰⁰ B: *ltar*.

Tibetan Text for *The Instructions of the Knowledge Holders*

༼¹⁸⁷༽³⁰¹ ལྷོ། །ཡང་གསང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཡུར་གཅིག་གི་ལྷ་ཁྱིད་གསལ་བར་བཀོད་པ་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་ཞལ་
ལུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

༼¹⁸⁸༽ ར་མོ་སྒྲི་བྱ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡི། བདེ་སྟོང་དབྱེར་མེད་སྒྲ་མ་དོན་མེས་མ། །འབར་བའི་སྐར་བཞེངས་བཟླ་ཀྱ་མ་
ར། །ཡབ་ཡུམ་སྐས་དང་སྐུལ་འཁོར་བཅས་པ་ལ། །གུས་པས་འདུད་དོ་བཀའ་གནང་མཐུན་པ་སྟོལ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་
སྐུ་བྱུ་བསྐྱེད་མཛད་སྟིང་ཆེའི་སྒྲིན། །གཟུང་འཛིན་རྣམ་རྟོག་འཛུམས་པ་དོན་འཛིན་ཆར། །མ་རུང་དབྱ་སྟེ་སྟེག་པ་དུས་མཐའི་
ལྷགས་³⁰² ། །སྟོན་ལས་འདུས་པ་དཔལ་ཆེན་ཉེ་བྱ་ལེ། །ཆོག་ཁྱིད་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་ཞལ་ལུང་འདི། །སྐལ་ལྷན་
ཐར་འདོད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དྲངས་བས་ལོངས། །དེ་ཡང་སྐུ་བཞི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་བདག་ཉིད། །བྱབ་བདག་དོན་མེས་པ་དཔའི་གོ་
འཕང་ཆོ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་འགྲུབ་ཅིང་། ས་ལམ་གྱི་བར་ཆད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཆར་གཅོད་པར་བདེ་གཤེགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྟོན་ལས་
འདུས་པ་དཔལ་ཆེན་དོན་མེས་ལེན་ཉིད་དེ་འཛིན་བསྟོན་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་འང་རྒྱུད་དང་སྐུ་བ་ཐབས་མཐའ་ཡས་པ་ཞིག་
མཆིས་པ་ལས་འདིར་བསྟན་དང་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་གཉིན། མཁས་དང་བྱུབ་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུ། སྐུལ་
པའི་གཉེར་ཆེན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་སྐུར་བ་མཆོག་༼¹⁸⁹༽ ལྷུར་བདེ་ཆེན་ཞིག་པོ་གླིང་པ་སྟོན་ལས་འགྲོ་འདུལ་
རྩལ་གྱིས་གཉེར་ནས་སྐྱན་དྲངས་པའི་ཟབ་ཆོས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷ་བུའི་སྟིང་པོ། ལྷུབ་པའི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པདྨ་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་པོའི་ཐུགས་
དམ་ཟབ་པ་སྟོར་བདུན་གྱི་ནང་ཚན། སྟོན་ལས་ཀྱི་ཟབ་པ་ཡང་གསང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཡུར་གཅིག་གི་ཁྱིད་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་གསལ་བར་
བཀོད་པ་ལ་གསུམ། བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱུ། བསྐྱེས་པ་གསུང་། ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་རོ། །དང་པོ་ལ་རྣམ་
པ་གསལ་བ། རྣམ་དག་བྱུང་པ། ང་རྒྱལ་བཟོན་པ་སྟེ་གསུམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་གསུམ་གྱིས་གཞི་བབྱུང་བར།

³⁰¹ Page numbers refer to Tsha ba 1982 (abbr. TS).

³⁰² TS: *zhugs*.

དེ་བཞིན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་རེ་འཛིན་ནི། ཆོས་ཉིད་སྤྱི་མཉམ་དངོས་པོ་མཚན་མའི་རྣམ་རྟོག་ཀྱན་འཛུམས་ལ། ཚུར་གང་གིས་
 ཀྱང་མི་བཞིག་པ་³⁰³ ། ཆོས་རྣམས་དངོས་པོ་སྤྱོད་ཞིང་བདག་མཉམ་པ་མཉམ་ཉིད་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་པའོ། །ཀྱན་སྤྱང་ནི། རོན་
 དམ་དེ་བཞིན་ཉིད་མ་རྟོགས་པའི་འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྤྱིང་རྗེའི་རྩ་ལ་གཡོས་ཏེ། ཁྱོས་པ་ལྟར་སྤྱང་བའི་རིག་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་³⁰⁴ ཞེ་
 སྤང་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་ལས་རྒྱན་གཙོང་པའོ། །རྒྱ་ནི། རྒྱ་¹⁹⁰ དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྱོད་ཉིད་སྤྱིང་རྗེ་དབྱེར་
 མཉམ་མཚན་པའི་ཡེ་གཏུ་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་པོ་འོད་འབར་བ། རྣམ་མཁའ་ནས་རང་བྱུང་ཐིག་ལའི་རྣམ་པར་ཤར་བའོ། །དེ་ཡང་
 རིམ་པ་བཞིན། རྩ་རྩ་རྩ་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ནི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་སྤྱོད་པའི་མཚན་མ་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཆོས་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་
 དབྱིངས་ཡེ་རྗེ་བཞིན་པ་ཀྱན་རུ་བཟང་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། མ་རྩ་སྤྱུ་ཁ་ལྟ་རྒྱ་ཀོལ་རྩ་། སྤྱེ། ཐབས་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་
 བདག་ཉིད་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྟན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་ཀྱན་རུ་བཟང་པོའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། བོ་རྩེ་ཙོ་རྩེ་རྩི་། བདེ་སྤོང་གཉིས་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་
 བ་ཆེན་པོ་རྩ་བ་བྱང་རྩུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱུའི་རྩི་ཡིག་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྱུང་བའི་རིམ་བཅུགས་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་
 གདན་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། བརྟེན་པ་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་གཉིས། དང་པོ་ནི། རྒྱུའི་ཡེ་གཏུ་ལས་ཨེ་མཐིང་ནག་ཆད་པ་ལས།
 ཀྱན་ཁྲབ་གྱི་རྣམ་མཁའ་མཐིང་ནག་གྲུ་གསུམ་རྒྱ་ཆད་འབྱུངས་གྲུས་པ། དེའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་ཡོ་ལྷང་ནག་ལས་སྟོབས་ཆེན་རྒྱུད་གི་
 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱ་གམ་གྱི་དབྱིབས་ཅན་སྤོང་ཆེན་བར་མའི་མཐའ་དང་མཉམ་པ། དེའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་ར་ཡིག་དམར་ནག་ལས་ཁྲག་
 མཚོ་དམར་རྒྱུ་འབྱུངས་པ། དེ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་སེར་ནག་ལས་ཞིང་ཆེན་བཅའ་བའི་རྒྱ་¹⁹¹ ས་གྲུ་བཞིར་མཉམ་པ། དེ་སྤྱོད་
 དུ་ཀོ་སྤྱོད་པོ་ལས། ཀའ་རུས་འཛོངས་ཐབས་སུ་བཅུགས་པའི་རི་རབ་བང་རིམ་བཞི་པ། རི་དམར་པོ་ལས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མེ་
 དཔུང་འབར་བའི་དབུས། རྩི་སྤྱོད་པོ་ལས་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམས་ལྷའི་སྤྱང་བའི་གྲུ་ཁང་ནང་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱི་བས་བཅུའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་རྩི་ཀྱར་
 སོགས་སྤོང་ཆེན་བཅུ་དང་། སྤྱུ་པའི་ཁྱོ་ཆོགས་དང་མཚོན་ཆ་འཕྱུག་པས་བར་མཉམ་དུ་གཏམ་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཉི་དམར་རྒྱུ་ལས་
 དུར་ཁྱོད་ཆེན་པོ་བརྒྱད། དེ་ཡང་གཡུ་པོ་ལས། བསིལ་བ་ཚལ་དང་སྤྱི་³⁰⁵ ལ་རྩོགས། ཉེ་ཆེན་རོལ་དང་གསང་ཆེན་
 རོལ། །པརྒྱ་བཅུགས་དང་ཡ་མ་ཁ། །ཁུ་བྱག་གྲོང་དང་མཛོན་རྩོགས་ཡིན། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པའི་ནང་དུ། བདེ་

³⁰³ TS: *shig pa*.

³⁰⁴ TS: *kyi*.

³⁰⁵ TS: *ku*.

བྱེད་བཅེགས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མཆོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱུད། དེར་གནས་པའི་རྩྭ་ཀླ་ར་སོགས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད། ཀེང་རུས་རབ་རྩ་
 འབར་སོགས་མེ་ལུང་བརྒྱུད། རབ་རྩ་འབྲུགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འཐོར་རྒྱུད་བརྒྱུད། རྩོ་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཤིང་བརྒྱུད།
 དེར་གནས་པའི་ཞིང་སྦྱོང་བརྒྱུད། ཏ་ཏར་མོད་པའི་རོ་ལང་བརྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་པའི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་པ་སྤྱོད་དང་།
 མཚམས་བཞི་གཞུག་ཡི་དབྱིབས་ལྷ་བུའི་བར་༽¹⁹² མཚམས་མཆོད་ཆུང་ལ་གྲུ་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་བཅས་གནས་སོ། །དུར་ཁྲོད་
 དང་པ་སྤྱོད་པར་འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་འཁོར་ཡུག་ཡིན་པས་རྒྱུ་སྒྲོར་ཁོན་དང་། རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་རང་ནི་ཡོད་པར་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་དག་
 བཞེད་པར་མི་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་དབུས་པོ་དམར་པོ་ལས་སྒྲོ་ཆོགས་པ་སྤྱོད་འདབ་མ་འབུམ་སྒྲིག་དོར་བཞེད་གཞུང་ལྟར། ལྷན་གྱི་
 སྤྱོད་དུ། ཏ་ལྷང་གྲུ་ལས་རྩོུ་རྒྱ་གམ་རུ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ། ཤར་དཀར་སོགས་ཕྱོགས་མདོག་ལྷོ་བ་ལེབ་ཆགས་གྲུ་བཞི་
 མཐིང་ནག་གི་སྤྱོད་། རྩྭ་ཁདོག་ལྷ་ལྷན་ལས་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་གཉིས་རིམ་གྱི། སྤྱི་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ནང་ནས་མཐིང་དཀར་
 སེར་དམར་ལྷང་བའི་བཅེགས་པ་སྒྲུ་ལ་རྩ་བར་འདོད་སྒྲུམ་དམར་པོ་མཆོད་ལྷས་བརྒྱན་པ། སྒོ་བཞིར། ཏ་རྒྱང་།
 རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་། སྒོ་མ། ཟུང་ཆག་སྒོ་སྤྱོད་འཕྲུང་།³⁰⁶ རྒྱན་འཕྲུང་། ཤར་བུ། ཁྲུང་མགོ་སྤྱོད་བབ་སྒྲུམ་བུ་བརྒྱུད་
 དང་ལྷན་པ། ཅིར། ས་གྲུ། བྱེ་ཕུལ། ན་བ་ཤར་བུ། མདའ་ཡབ་སོགས་རྒྱན་གྱིས་མཛེས་པའི་ནང་ཀ་བ་
 བརྒྱུད་གྱིས་བཞེགས་པའི་གདུང་འཁོར་མའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ས་གྲུ་བཅེགས་པའི་བུམ་པའི་དབྱིབས་ལྷ་བུ་དང་། དའི་སྤྱོད་
 དུ་གྲུ་བཞི་བྱེ་ལྷ་བའི་སྤྱོད་པ་སྤྱོད་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྟོག་དང་བཅས་༽¹⁹³ པ་སྤྱི་དབྱིབས་མཆོད་རྟེན་ལྷ་བུའོ།
 །ནང་ནི་ཐོད་པ་སྒྲུམ་རྒྱོན་རྟེན་གསུམ་བཅེགས་པ་གནས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གཟེར་གྱིས་བསྒྲུམ་སྟེ། ཁྲག་ཞག་གི་འདམ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་
 པར་ཤ་ཆེན་གྱི་སྒྲུམ་བུ་ལ་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་མཆོད་པས་མཛེས་པ། ཅིར་མགོ་བོའི་ས་གྲུ། ཉི་རྒྱའི་མཐོང་སྒྲུམ། ཀྱང་ལག་
 མཆོག་མ་བསྟོལ་བའི་བྱེ་ཕུལ་ལ། སྒྲུ་མའི་སྒྲུ་རགས་དང་། རུས་པའི་བྱ་བ། ཀྱང་ལག་གི་ཤར་བུ། སྐལ་ཆོག་
 གི་མདའ་ཡབ། ཞིང་གི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ནང་ནས་ཆངས་པའི་གདུང་མ་དང་། སྒྲུ་སྒྲུར་གྱི་བུལ་ཕུམ། ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་
 ཀ་གདན། ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཀ་བ། གཟེང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཀ་ལྷ་ཅན། ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཕྱགས་པས་ཐོག་བཀའ་སྟེ་རུ་བྱའི་མགོ་བོ་
 དང་། ཅི་རྟེན་རྟོག་གིས་མཛེས་པ། ཞིང་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་ལེབ་དང་། སྒྲུལ་ནག་གི་སྒྲིས་བུ་བཅུག་པ་སོགས་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་
 རྒྱན་གྱིས་བཞིང་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཤ་ཆེན་གྱི་གྲུ་ཆད་སྒྲུག་ནག་རོ་ཆལ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པའི་སྤྱོད་དུ། རྩྭ་ལས་རིན་ཆེན་མཐིང་ནག་ཆ་

³⁰⁶ Editor places a note to check the preceding text.

བརྒྱད་པའི་ལྷ་བཟོད་པའི་ར་བ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཆ་ཕྱན་གྱི་ཆད་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་པོར་བསྐྱོར་བའི་དབུས་སུ། ལེ་མཐིང་ནག་དྲེང་འབྲང་
 བུའི་དཔག་པ། བརྒྱ་རྟེ་སྟེ་དྲེང་འབྲང་ཆེན་ཉི་མཱ་པ་མ། གཙོ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་སྤྲུབ་ནག་པོ་¹⁹⁴ ཅེ་གསུམ་ཐོད་
 ཁྲག་སྒྲག་ཤམས་ཅན། མོ་དམར་པོ་གན་རྒྱལ་ཅེ་གསུམ་ཐོད་ཁྲག་གཟེག་ཤམས་ཅན། ཁྲོ་བཅུར། ཤར་གྱི་ཐོད་པའི་
 ཅུ་བར། ལྷ་ཆངས་པ། ཤར་གྱི་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་འཛུམ་སྟེང་། ཇི་ཟ། ལྷོར་གཤིན་ཅེ། ལུབ་ཏུ་རྒྱུད་བར་། བྱང་
 དུ་གཞོད་སྒྲིན། ཤར་ལྷོར་མེ་ལྷ། ལྷོ་ལུབ་ཏུ་སྒྲིན་པོ། ལུབ་བྱང་དུ་རྒྱུད་ལྷ། དབང་ལྷན་དུ་བགོགས་རྒྱལ།
 ལུབ་གྱི་ཐོད་པའི་ཅུར་ས་བདག་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་རྒྱུད་མ་དང་བཅས་གྱི་ཆིངས་སུ་བསྟོལ་བ། རྒྱ་གམ་ནང་དུ་དབྱ་བགོགས་
 བསྟོལ་བའི་གདན་ལྷ་གྲངས་དང་མཉམ་པ་སོགས་སོ། །ལར་གཞལ་ལས་ཁང་དང་། གཙོ་ལའོར་གྱི་གདན་འདི་རྣམས་
 གྱི་ཐང་། མན་ངག་དང་བྱང་ཆོས་ཞིབ་པར་སྟོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལས་ཤེས་དགོས་སོ། །གཉིས་པ་བརྟེན་པ་ལྷ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ནི།
 རྣམ་མཁར་གནས་པའི་རྒྱའི་རྩྭ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐར་མདའ་ལྱུང་བ་ལྷར་གདན་དབུས་མའི་སྟེང་དུ་བབ་པ་ལས། འོད་ཟེར་མཐའ་ལས་
 པ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོས་རྒྱལ་བ་རྣམས་མཆོད་ཅིང་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱེད། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་ཕོག་པས་སྒྲིབ་པ་སྦྱངས།
 སྤར་འོད་ཟེར་རྒྱལ་བ་རྣམས་གྱི་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་དང་བཅས་པ་རྒྱུར་འདུས་ཏེ་རྩྭ་ལ་ཐིམ་པས་དྲོཅེ་མཐིང་ནག་རྩྭ་གིས་མཚན་པར་གྱུར།
¹⁹⁵ སྤར་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོ་འདུ་སྤར་བཞིན་བྱས། ཆོགས་གཉིས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤར་གྱུར་པ་ནི།
 རྒྱགས་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་ཆོག་གིས་གསལ་གདབ་པའོ། །ཨོ་བཟླ་གྱི་ལི་གྱི་ལ་ཡ་སར་བེ་རྒྱན་བེ་རྩྭ་པུལ་ཅེས་བརྗོད་པས་
 གདོད་ནས་དག་པའི་ངང་ངམ་གཤིས་རང་བཞིན་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་གྱི་དབྱིངས་ཆོས་གྱི་སྤྱུ་ལས་མ་གཤམས་བཞིན་དུ། འོངས་སྟོད་
 རྫོགས་སྤྱུ་དཔལ་དྲོཅེ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་མི་ཟད་པ་རྒྱན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འབར་བ་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱལ་པའི་སྤར་ཤར་བའི་ཁྲོ་
 བོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་མི་བཟད་པ་གཏུམ་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཅན། དཔལ་ཆེན་དྲོཅེ་གཞོན་ནུ། སྤྱུ་མདོག་མཐིང་ནག ཞལ་ལས་དཀར།
 གཤམ་དམར། དབུས་མཐིང་བའི་ཞལ་རེ་ལ་སྤྱན་གསུམ་གསུམ་སྟེ་དག་པོའི་སྤྱན་དགྲ་དང་ལྷན་པ། དབུ་སྒྲི་ཉི་
 ཆིག་སྟོང་སྤྱི་པོར་བཅིངས་ཏེ་དྲོཅེ་ཕྱེད་པའི་ཏོག་དང་། ཐོད་པ་སྤྲམ་པོ་ལུའི་དབུ་རྒྱན་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་ཅེ་བན་དང་ལྷན་པ།
 ཕུག་དུག་གི་དང་པོ་གཉིས་གྱི། ཅེ་དགྲ་དང་སྤྱིགས་མཚུབ་དང་བཅས་པའི་མེ་ཕུང་། བར་པ་གཉིས་གྱི་ཅེ་ལྷ་དང་ཁྱྱོ།
 འོག་མ་གཉིས་གྱི་རི་རབ་གྱི་ཕུར་པ་བསྒྲིལ་བ། ཞབས་བཞི་གཤམ་བརྒྱུད་བའི་གར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་མོ་མནན་པ།
¹⁹⁶ གཤམ་དྲོཅེ་ཐེལ་ཕྱན་གྱིས་མཚན་པའི་སྤྱུ་གྱི་དང་། གཤམ་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚན་པའི་རྒྱ་གྱིའི་གཤོག་པ་བརྒྱུངས་

ལིང་། འཁོར་ལོའི་མཚན་པའི་རལ་གྱི་འི་མཆོག་མ་དང་ལྷན་པ། སྤྱི་པོར་རུས་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ། སྟན་རྒྱན།
 མགྲུལ་རྒྱན། ཐལ་བ། སྐར་ལགས། རྒྱལ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་གདུ་བུ་སྟེ་རྒྱན་དུག ཐོད་པ་སྐྱམ་རྟིང་རྟོན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱིར་བ་
 ཚར་གསུམ། སྤྱུལ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་དཀར་པོའི་སྤྱི་ཆིངས། རྩུ་རིགས་སེར་པོའི་སྟན་རྒྱན། བུམ་ཟེ་དམར་པོའི་མགྲུལ་
 རྒྱ། གདོལ་པ་ནག་པོའི་སྤྱི་རིག དམངས་རིགས་ལྗང་གུའི་རྒྱལ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་གདུ་བུ་སྟེ། ཐོད་སྐྱམ་རྟིང་ཕྱན། དབུའི་
 རྒྱན་དང་། རུས་རྒྱན། མགོ་ཕྱིར་སྤྱུལ་རྒྱན་སྤྱི་རྒྱན་ཏེ་གདགས་པའི་རྒྱན་གཉིས། སྤང་ཆེན་གོ་རྟོན་གྱི་སྟོད་
 གཡོགས། ཞིང་ཕྱགས་སྟོད་དཀྱིས་སྤྱག་ཕྱགས་ཤམ་ཐབས་སྟེ་བཞོ་བའི་གོས་གསུམ། དཔལ་བར་ཐལ་ཆེན་ཆོམ་བུ་
 མཁུར་ཆོས་རྒྱའི་ཐིག་ལེ། ཨོག་མར་ཞག་གི་ཐོ་རིས་ཏེ་བྱུག་པའི་རྩི་གསུམ་བཅས་དུར་ཁྱོད་ཆས་བརྒྱན་དང་དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་
 མཐིང་ནག་ཅོད་པར་འཕུར་བ་དེ་རྩི་གོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཆས། མེ་ཕུང་གྲོང་ན་བཞུགས་པ་འབར་བ་མའི་ཆས་ཏེ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཆས་བརྒྱ་
 དང་། སྤྱི་སྟོན་པ་དཔལ་བ། རྒྱ་¹⁹⁷མི་སྤྱག་པ། གསུང་རྟོན་པ། གཤེ་བ། འཛིགས་སྤྱ་རུང་བ།
 ཐུགས་སྟོང་རྩི་བ། རམ་པ་ཞི་བའི་རྩལ་ཏེ་གར་དགུ་སོགས་ཁྱོ་བའི་ཆས་དང་རྩལ་གྱིས་³⁰⁷རྩམ་པར་འཛིགས་པ། ཡུམ་
 ཆེན་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱས་འདེབས་མ་སྤྱི་མདོག་མཐིང་ནག་ལང་ཆོས་སྟོན་པ། ཞལ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་གཉིས་གཡས་རང་རྟགས་
 ལྷུང་ལ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཡབ་ཀྱི་མགྲུལ་ནས་འབྱུང་ཅིང་། གཡོན་པས་དུང་དམར་ཞལ་དུ་སྟོབ་པ། ཐོད་སྐྱམ་དང་རིན་པོ་
 ཆའི་དབུ་རྒྱན་ཐལ་བ་སྤངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་ལྗང་དང་། གཟིག་པགས་ཀྱི་ཤམ་ཐབས་སོགས་དུར་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཆས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ།
 ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་མེ་ཕུང་འབར་བའི་གྲོང་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྤྱི་བུ་སྤྱེ་བ་ཐེར་འབུམ་དེ་རྩིས་གཏམས་ཤིང་། ཕུར་བུའི་རྩ་རྩ་
 སྐར་རྩར་འབྱུགས་པ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀར་འོད་ཨིན་རྩི་ལ་ལྷ་བུའི་གུར་བྱིས་སྟོ་གཅིག་དང་ལྷན་པའི་ནང་ན་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དེ་རྩི་
 སེམས་དཔལ་ཆོན་གང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཆ་བརྒྱན་པའི་དབུས་ཉི་མཱ་སྟན་གཤག་ཅམ་གྱི་གདན་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་དེ་རྩི་ནས་
 འབྲས་ཅམ་གྱི་ལྷེ་བར་ཉི་མ་ལ་གནས་པའི་རྩི་སྟོན་པོ་ཡུངས་འབྲུ་ཅམ་གྱི་མཐར་གྱི་ལ་ཡ་འབྲུ་དགུ་པ་སྤྱིས་བྲིས་པ་ཅམ་གྱིས་
 བསྟོར་བ་གཡོ་མེད་དུ་¹⁹⁸གནས་པར། གུར་བྱིས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་སྤྱང་རྩ་མཁྱིན་དམར་པོ་པདྨ་དང་ཐུར་འཛིན་པས་བསྤུང་
 བར་བསམ། འདིའི་སྟོ་ཡི་སྐབས་འདིར་མན་ངག་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་མའི་ཞལ་ལས་མཉན་པ་ལས་དགུས་སྤྱ་འབྲིར་
 མི་འོས་པས་འདིར་མ་བཞོད་དོ། །གཉིས་པ་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱ་ཁྱོ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྟེན་པ་ནི། དཔལ་ཆེན་དེ་རྩི་གཞོན་ལྷ་

³⁰⁷ TS: *gyi*.

འཛིན་པ། རྒྱལ་བྱང་འདོད་ཀྱི་དམར་སྐྱ་གཡས་དཀར་གཡོན་སྡེ་བའི་ཞལ། བར་པ་གཉིས་བ་དན་དང་རྩ་ཡབ།
 ཡུམ་རྩོམ་མདའ་སྒྲིམ་མ་དམར་སྐྱ། སྤ་མན་སྤྱང་གི་བ་དན་དང་རྒྱ་གྲུ་ཕྱག་བརྟན་ཐུ་མགོ་རྩ་ཡབ་དང་བྱི་ཡུ་འཛིན་པ།
 བྱང་དུ་བདུད་རྩི་འབྱུང་བ་ལྗང་ནག་གཡས་དཀར་གཡོན་དམར་བ། བར་པ་གཉིས་རྒྱ་གྲུ་དང་བྱི་ཡུ། ཡུམ་རྩོམ་
 རྒྱང་འབྱུན་མ་ལྗང་ནག། སྤ་མན་སེལ་འཁོ་ཅན་བ་དན་དང་རྒྱ་གྲུ་ཕྱག་བརྟན་ཐུ་མགོ་རྩ་ཡབ་དང་བྱི་ཡུ་འཛིན་པ།
 བྱང་ཤར་ཁམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ནག་པོ་གཡས་དཀར་གཡོན་དམར་བ། བར་པ་གཉིས་ཐོ་བ་དང་བགེགས་མགོ།
 ཡུམ་རྩོམ་གསོད་བྱེད་མ་ལྗང་སེར། སྤ་མན་དོམ་ཐོ་བ་དང་ཐོང་གཤོལ། ཕྱག་བརྟན་སྤེལ་བགེགས་མགོ་དང་གཏུན་
 ཤིང་འཛིན་པ། རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཐོད་པའི་ཕ་བར་སྟོབས་པོ་ཆེ་ནག་པོ་གཡས་དཀར་གཡོན་དམར་བའི་ཞལ་ཅན། ཕྱག་བར་པ་
 གཉིས་ཐོང་གཤོལ་དང་གཏུན་གྱིས་བརྟུང་བ། ཡུམ་རྩོམ་བརྟུང་མའམ་བསྐྱལ་བྱེད་མ་ནག་།²⁰¹ མོ་རྩོམ་རྣམ་དམར།
 སྤ་མན་བྱེད་གྱི་མགོ་ཅན་ཐོ་བ་དང་ཐོང་གཤོལ། ཕྱག་བརྟན་³¹² བྱི་བའི་མགོ་ཅན་བགེགས་མགོ་དང་གཏུན་ཤིང་འཛིན་པའོ།
 །དེ་ལྟར་ཁོ་བོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ཀུན་དཔལ་དང་དུར་བྱེད་གྱི་ཆས་སོགས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དང་མཚུངས་པ། སྤ་མན་དང་ཕྱག་
 བརྟན་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐྱ་མདོག་ཁོ་བོ་ལུ་ཡུམ་རང་རང་མཚུངས་པར་ཡང་བཤད། སྐྱ་ལས་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱི་མེ་ཕུང་དང་གཟི་བུ་རྩི་
 བསྐྱལ་པའི་མེ་ལྟར་འབར་ཞིང་བལྟ་བས་མི་བཟོད་པ་མ་འདྲེས་ཡོངས་རྩོགས་སུ་གསལ་བར་བསྟོམ་མོ། །གསུམ་པ་སྟོལ་
 བྱེད་ཕུར་བུ་རྩི་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྐྱེད་པ་ནི། གཙོ་བོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་བྱང་སེམས་འོད་གྱི་གོང་བུ་ལས་རྩྱི་ཡིག་ཉར་གཅིག་སྐྱ་
 གམ་རྣམས་སུ་སྟོས་ཏེ་འཁོད་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ཕྱི་ལས་ཕུར་བུ་སྤེལ་མོ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་འཕྲོས། །ཁམས་གསུམ་
 སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་སྟོགས་པ་དང་རིགས་དྲུག་གི་བག་ཆགས་སྤང་ཞེན་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་ཤིང་སྐྱུངས། དཔལ་
 ཆེན་པོའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར། སྤར་འདུས་རྩྱི་ཡིག་རྣམས་ལ་ཐིམ་སྟེ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས། སྤས་མཚོག་ཉར་གཅིག་སྐྱ་
 མདོག་མཐིང་ནག་ལྷུང་ལྱུང་རྒྱས་པའི་མདོག་།²⁰² འདྲ་བ་ཞལ་གཡས་དཀར། གཡོན་དམར་བའི་ཞལ་གསུམ་ལྟགས་
 གྱི་རལ་པ་དང་ལྗན་པའི་སྐྱ་སྟོད་ཁོ་བོ་འཛིགས་སུ་བྱང་བ། གཡས་གྱི་སྤས་བདུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་དྲུག་གི་གཡས་དང་པོའི་རང་
 རྟགས་འཁོར་ལོ། བར་པས་རྩེ་ལྷ། གཡོན་དང་པོའི་མེ་ཕུང་། བར་པ་ཁྲུ། ཐམ་གཉིས་ཕུར་བུ་འབྱིལ་བ།
 གཡོན་གྱི་སྤས་བདུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་དང་པོའི་རང་རྟགས་པམ། རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤས་བདུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་དང་པོའི་རང་རྟགས་རྒྱ་གྲུ།

³¹² TS: *phya brnyan*.

ལྷག་གཞན་སྤྱི་མཆོག་ཀྱང་ལྷག་མཆོན་འདྲ་བར། སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་མིན་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་གནས་ལྷག་སྐྱོད་བལ་ལྷུང་གསུམ་
 དབྱ་བཞག་གི་སྒོ་གཞི་གོ་བོར་བཅུག་པ་དུར་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཆས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་འབར་བའི་འོད་ཚྭ་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་འབྱུག་པ།
 སྤྱིང་ཆེད་སྤྱོད་པའི་བདག་ཉིད་དུ་བསྐྱེད་དོ། །ཁོ་བྱང་ནང་མའི་སྒོ་བཞིར་སྤྱལ་པའི་སྒོ་སྤྱོད་ཁྱོ་མོ་བཞི། ཤར་དུ་གཞོད་
 སྤྱིན་པུ་ཤུད་ལྷག་གྱུ་འཛིན་པ་དཀར་པོ། ལྷོར་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཀྱང་ཀུན་གསུམ་པ་འཛིན་པ་སེར་པོ། ལུབ་ཏུ་བདུད་ཅིད་མིན་
 བྱ་ལྷག་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་པ་དམར་པོ། བྱང་དུ་གསོད་བྱེད་ཁྱེད་མགོ་དྲིལ་འབྲོལ་འབྱེད་པ་ལྷུང་མོ་རྣམས། ལྷག་གཡམས་རང་
 ཏྲགས་ལྷག་ཀྱང་བཞི་དང་། གཡོན་པ་²⁰³ རྣམས་ལས་བཞིའི་ཕུར་བུ་འདྲིལ་བ། གཞན་ཡང་བར་བྱམས་སུ་ཤར་
 དུ་ཤུན་སུ་ཁ་སོགས་ཕུར་སྤྱང་བཅུ་གཉིས། སྤྱི་མའི་བྲག་བྲམས་སུ་ཤར་དུ་ཞི་མཛད་དཀར་མོ་བདུན་སོགས་དབང་ལྷག་ཉིར་
 བརྒྱད། སྤྱིའི་སྒོ་སྤྱང་སྤྱིས་བྱ་གིང་བཞི་སྤྱིའི་འཁོར་ལྷག་ཤར་དུ་ཕུར་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་དབུ་བརྒྱ་མ་དང་། ལུབ་ཏུ་འབྱུང་པོ་དྲེ་
 སྤྱི་ཡོན་གྱིས་³¹³ གཙོས། མཁའ་འགྲོ་སོ་གཉིས། མ་བདུན་སྤྱིང་བཞི། འབར་མ་དྲིགས་པ་བྱ་གཅན་སོགས་པོ་ཉ་
 རྣམས་ཉི་མ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་བཞིན་མགོན་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་གསལ་བར་བསྐྱེད་དོ། །དེ་ལྷོར་རིམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དེ་ཉིད་བཟླ་གྱི་
 ལ་ཡའི་སྤྱགས་གྱིས་གཅིག་ཆར་དུ་གསལ་བཤད་པའོ། །གཉིས་པ་³¹⁴ སྤྱིན་གྱིས་རྒྱབས་ཤིང་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་སོགས་གསུམ་
 ལས། དང་པོ་ནི། བདག་དམ་ཆོག་པའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་ཡེ་ནས་དག་པའི་སྤྱི་གསུང་ལྷག་གི་བདག་དུ་ཉིད་སྤྱིན་གྱིས་
 བརྒྱབས་ཤིང་། གནས་གསུམ་དུ་སྤྱི་གསུང་ལྷག་གི་ལྷ་གསུམ་མཁ་ཡིག་འབྲུ་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཆོན་པར་བསམ་མོ།
 །ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་བདག་ཉིད་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བས། དབང་ཏྲགས་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་རིགས་ལྷ་ལས་སྤྱིར་དྲེ་གཞོན་ལུ་
 ཆེད་²⁰⁴ རིགས་ཡིན་ནའང་། སྤྱིན་ལས་ཀྱི་ལྷར་བཞེངས་པས། དོན་གྲུབ་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་རིགས་ལྷས་དབུ་
 བརྒྱན་པར་བསམ་མོ། །གཉིས་པ་སྤྱིན་བྱངས་པ་ལ་གསུམ་ལས། དང་པོ་སྤྱིན་གསུན་དབང་པ་ནི། ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་
 རས་སྤྱིད་པ་དྲེ་ཕུར་བུའི་ལྷ་ཆོགས་རྣམས། བསྐྱེད་པ་དམ་ཆོག་པའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་འདི་ལ་དགོངས་ཏེ། ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་
 དགྱིལ་འཁོར་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་འབྱུང་པར་མཛོད་ཅིག་པ་དང་། བཟླ་ས་མ་ཇེ་ས་བསྐྱལ་བས། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་
 རྣམས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལས་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིར་བཞེངས་ཏེ་སྤྱིན་བྱངས་བའི་དུས་སུ་འཕྱོན་པར་མཛོད་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་བཤད་

³¹³ TS: *gyi*.

³¹⁴ TS: *gsum pa*.

སྤྱང་བའོ། །གཉིས་པ་སྤྱན་བྲངས་པ་དངོས་ནི། སྤིང་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུས་པའི་ཕྱི་སྤྱོད་ནང་བརྟུང་ཐམས་ཅད་དོན་
 གཞོན་རྩུང་གསལ་པའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ། འོག་མིན་གྱི་གནས་ནས་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱི་ཁྲོ་བོ་དམ་ཆོག་གི་གནས་འདིར་གཤེགས་
 རས་མཆོག་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲུབ་པའི་རྟགས་དང་། ཐུན་མོང་དམ་ཅན་གྲུབ་པའི་མཆོན་མ་རྣམས་དངོས་ཉམས་མི་
 ལམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། དོན་ཕུར་བྱའི་མཆོག་ཐུན་གྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་མ་ལུས་པ་སྤྱལ་དུ་གསོལ་ཞེས་སྤྱན་བྲངས་པའི་
 སྤྲུགས་ ༼²⁰⁵༽ བརྗོད་པ་དང་བཅས་པས། བདག་གཙོ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས། ལྷ་མོ་བཞི་འོག་མིན་དུ་སྦྱོས་པས་ཡེ་
 ཤེས་པ་དགུག། ³¹⁵ བཅིངས་སྡོམ། དབྱེས་པ་བསྐྱེད་དེ་སྤྱན་བྲངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བསྐྱོད་ནས་འཁོར་ཤུགས་གྱིས་
 ཡོངས་བ་བཞིན་དུ། འཁོར་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་དང་བཅས་པ་མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁའ་བྱོན་པར་བསམ། གསུམ་པ་བཞུགས་
 སུ་གསོལ་བ་ནི། དུར་ཁྲོད་གྱི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་པར། གཙོ་བོ་དབུས་སུ་བྱུང་དང་། སྤྱིང་དུ་ཆངས་པ་ཕོ་མོ་བསྐྱོལ་བ་
 སོགས་གདན་གྱི་སྤྱིང་དུ་དབྱེས་པར་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བ་ནི། ས་མ་ཡ་ཉིལ་ལྷན། ཞེས་བརྗོད་པས་དམ་ཆོག་གི་དལ་
 ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱི་དལ། རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་མིའི་པ་ལྟར་གཙོ་བོ་ལ་གཙོ་བོ། འཁོར་ལ་འཁོར། གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་ལ་གཞལ་ཡས་
 ཁང་ཐིམ་སྟེ་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་གྱུར་པར་བསམ། གསུམ་པ་མཆོད་པ་ལ་བདུན་ལས། དང་པོ་མཉེས་པ་ཕྱག་གི་མཆོད་པ་ནི་
 གཙོ་བོ་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་བདག་ལས་གྱི་དོན་གཞོན་རྩུང་རྣམས་པར་ཐོན་ཏེ། དགྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཤར་སྒོ་ནས། ཆོས་གྱི་
 དབྱིངས་ནས་སྤྱར་བཞེངས་སོགས་ཆོག་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། ཡིད་གུས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཡན་ལག་ལྔ་ས་ལ་བརྟུང་པས་གུས་པའི་རྒྱལ་
 གྱིས་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ཏེ་ཨ་ཏི་ཕུ་རྟོ་ ༼²⁰⁶༽ མཆོད་པ་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དབྱེས་སམ་ཞེས་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷ་ཆོགས་རྣམས་གྱིས་བྲ་
 ཏི་བྱུ་རྟོ་ས་དེ་ལ་རབ་རྒྱུ་མཉེས་སོ་ཞེས་པའི་ལན་གནང་བར་བསམ་མོ། །གཉིས་པ་ཉེར་སྤྱོད་གྱི་མཆོད་པ་ནི། རུཏ་
 བསྐྱལ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དབང་པོའི་མེ་ཏོག་སོགས་མཆོད་རྩུང་རྣམས་ཐོགས་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་མང་པོ་བདག་གི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་སྦྱོས་ཏེ་
 མེ་ཏོག་དབུ་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་སོགས་གནས་སོ་སོར་སྦྱོབས་པས་མཉེས་པར་བསམ་མོ། །གསུམ་པ་དུག་གསུམ་གྱི་མཆོད་པ་ནི།
 འདོད་ཆགས་ཞེས་པའི་སྤྱིང་གྱི་སྤྱིང་གི་ངོ་བོ། ཤུགས་རྩུས་གསུམ་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆོགས་ལ་ཕུལ་ཏེ། མ་རྒྱུ་མི་སོགས་
 བརྗོད་པས། དུག་གསུམ་རང་གནས་སུ་དག་པར་བསམ་མོ། །བཞི་པ་ ³¹⁶ བདུད་ཅིང་མཆོད་པ་ལ་གཉིས། མཆོད་པ་

³¹⁵ TS: *dgugs*.

³¹⁶ TS: *zhes pa*.

དངོས་དང་། དངོས་གྲུབ་སྒྲུབ་པའོ། །དང་པོ་ནི། གཤོད་ནས་དག་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་གི་རྩལ་མ་བརྒྱུད་སྤོང་སྤྱར་གྱི་སྒྲུབ།
 ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ་རྩེ་གསལ་ཤིང་དགྱིལ་ལའོར་པ་གྲུབ་པའི་རྩལ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚོགས་ལ་འབྱུལ་ལོ་ཞེས་ཆོག་དང་།
 སུ་པལ་ལྷ་མོ་གསལ་བཞེད་ཅིང་། གྱི་མེད་བདུད་ཅིའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་ཐེབ་སྤྱན་³¹⁷ ཉི་ཁྲའི་གུའུ་ཁ་སྤྱོད་གྱིས་བཅུས་ཏེ་ཕུལ་བས་ལྷ་
 ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རོས་མཉེས་པར་བསམ་མོ། །གཉིས་པ་ནི། དེ་ལྟར་ལྷ་ཚོ་གསལ་ནམས་ལ་མཉེས་པའི་མཆོད་
 པ་ཕུལ་²⁰⁷ ། བས། ལྷ་ཚོ་གསལ་ནམས་གྱིས་³¹⁸ སྤྱིས་ལ་སྤྱིས་ལེན་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྤྱོད་གསུང་ཐུགས་གྱི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐམས་
 ཅད་ཡི་གོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་བདུད་ཅིའི་ནང་དུ་འཕྲོས་པ་ལས། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ལྷ་རྩེ་རྩེ་གྱིས་མཚན་པར་བསྐོས་པའི་དང་།
 བདུད་ཅི་ཡིག་འབྱུག་སུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་གནས་པ་དེ་ལས་མཐེབ་སྤྱན་³¹⁹ གྱིས་སྒྲུངས་པ་ལྷ་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཞག་སྤྱི་ལ་ཐེམ་པས་སྤྱོད་
 གསུང་ཐུགས་མཆོག་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐོབ་པར་བསམ། ལྷ་པ་རྒྱའི་མཆོད་པ་ནི། དུང་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་དུ་བདག་ཏུ་
 འཛིན་པ་རུ་བྱ་བསྐུལ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དམར་ཆེན་ཐ་རྒྱལ་མཁའ་ལ་འཕྱོ་བའི་རྣམ་འདི་ལའོར་བ་སྤོང་པའི་ཕྱིར། དཔལ་
 ཆེན་ལའོར་དང་བཅས་ལ་འབྱུལ་ཞེས། སྤྱགས་བཅས་བཞེད་པས། ལའོར་བ་བྲག་ཞག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཆོད་པར་ཕུལ་བས་
 ལྷག་མེད་དུ་བཞེས་ཏེ། ལའོར་བའི་གནས་རྣམས་སྤོང་པར་བསམ། དུག་པ་གཏོར་མའི་མཆོད་པ་ནི། སྤྱོད་གྱི་འཇིག་
 ཉིན་རྒྱུ་འབར་བའི་ནང་དུ། བཅུད་སྤྱིད་པ་གསུམ་བསྐུལ་བའི་གཏོར་མ་འདི་བྲག་འཐུང་ལྷ་ཚོ་གསལ་ནམས་ལ་འབྱུལ་ཞེས་
 སྤྱགས་བཅས་བཞེད་པས། འདོད་ཡོན་ལྷའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་མཁོ་དགུ་ལྷན་པས་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱང་། ལྷག་མ་གཤམ་ཏུ་
 གྱུར་པ་དམ་ཅན་རྣམས་གྱིས་ལོངས་²⁰⁸ ། སྤྱོད་པར་བསམ། བདུན་པ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གྱི་མཆོད་པ་ནི། ཆོས་དབྱིངས་
 ཡུམ་གྱི་སོགས་དང་། ང་ལ་བར་ཆད་བྱེད་པའི་སོགས་འབྱུལ་སྤྱགས་བཅས་བཞེད་པས། ཁྱོ་མོ་ཤེས་རབ་དབྱིངས་གྱི་
 མཁའ་ལ། ཐབས་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རིགས་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྩེ་རྩེ་སྤྱོད་པས། རྣམ་རྟོག་ཡེ་ཤེས་སུ་བསྐུལ་བས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཏེ།
 བདེ་སྤོང་འདུ་འབྱུལ་མེད་པའི་སྤྱོད་མཚམས་ནས། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་གྱི་མཆོད་པའི་སྤྱན་དཔག་མེད་གྱིས་མཆོད་པར་བསམ།
 དག་བགོགས་རྣམ་རྟོག་བསྐུལ་བས་བསྐྱར་པའི་དག་མེད་ཅིང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱི་བ་ལ་གཞོད་པའི་རྒྱུན་མེད་པར་བསམ་མོ།

³¹⁷ TS: *theb srin*.

³¹⁸ TS: *kyi*.

³¹⁹ TS: *theb srin*.

³²⁰ |བཞི་པ་³²⁰ བསྟོད་པ་ལ་བཞི་ལས། དང་པོ་བདག་ཉིད་རྩ་བའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ནི། ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེ་
 མཚན་དཔེ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་ཤིང་སྒྲིག་པ་སོགས་སྐྱེའི་གར་དང་ལྡན་པ་གཟི་བརྗེད་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མེ་ལྟར་འབར་བ་དང་། མོད་
 པས་སོགས་གསུང་གི་གར་དང་། གྲགས་སྟོང་ཚངས་དབྱངས་ཡན་ལག་དྲུག་ཅུ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་གསུང་གཅིག་གིས་འཇིག་
 རྟེན་ཀླན་གྱི་མོས་པ་དང་མཚམས་པར་བྱའོ་བར་མཛད་པ་དང་། སྟིང་རྗེ་བ་སོགས་བྱགས་གྱི་གར་དང་།
 མ་བྱེན་པ་གཉིས་ལྡན་གྱི་བྱགས་དང་ལྡན་པས་སྟོང་གསུམ་རབ་འབྱམས་མ་ལུས་པ་གང་ལ་²⁰⁹ །གང་འདུལ་གྱིས་སྟོལ་
 བའི་དཔལ་ཁྲག་འཁྱུང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པ་ལ་བསྟོད་པའོ། |གཉིས་པ་སྟོགས་བཅུ་ཁྲོ་བའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་
 བསྟོད་པ་ནི། འདོད་ལོག་སྟོད་པའི་སྟོན་སྟོལ་བའི་ཁྲོ་ཆེན་རྒྱུ་ཀར་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་མི་དགོ་བཅུ་སྟོལ་བའི་ཁྲོ་བོ་བཅུ་དང་།
 ཤེས་རབ་པ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་པས་སྐྱེ་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་འབྱེན་མ་སོགས། སར་ཕྱིན་བཅུ་ལས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཁྲོ་མོ་བཅུ་དང་།
 ཐབས་ཡབ་གྱི་ཆ་ལས་སྐྱེ་སྐྱུལ་པའི་བཟྱེད་བཅུ་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་ཆ་ལས་སྐྱུལ་པའི་གསོད་བྱེད་བཅུ་དང་བཅས་པ་
 སྟོགས་བཅུ་ཁྲོ་བའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་བསྟོད་པའོ། |གསུམ་པ་ཕུར་པ་རྩ་གྱི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ནི། ལོག་པར་
 རྟོགས་པའི་སྟོགས་ཞེ་སྒྲུང་རང་ཁ་མ་ལྟ་བུས་བསད་ཅིང་། གཉི་མུག་གིས་མནན་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བྱགས་རྗེ་ཐབས་ལྡན་གྱི་
 སྟོར་བས་འགོ་བ་རྣམས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། རྒྱལ་བ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྟིང་རྗེ་འདུས་པའི་བདག་ཉིད། ཕུར་བུ་སྐས་མཆོག་
 རྣམས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ལྟར་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་གསུམ་ལ་བསྟོད་བྱ་བསྟོད་བྱེད་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་བསྟོད་པའོ།
 |བཞི་པ་སྟོར་དམ་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ནི། དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐྱེ་སྒྲུང་ཁས་སྒྲུངས་པའི་སྟོ་མ་བཞི་དང་། ཕྱི་བྱམས་
 འཁོར་²¹⁰ ། ཡུག་སྟོང་བའི་མོ་ཉ་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ་ཅི་ལྟར་བཅོལ་བའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་སྐྱུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ།
 |བདག་ཉིད་ལས་གྱི་ཉེ་རུ་ཀའི་རྣམ་པར་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཉིད་གཙོ་བོའི་བྱགས་ཀར་གཉིས་མེད་དུ་ཐིམ་པར་བསམ། ཡང་བསྟོད་
 པའི་ཚོག་བརྗོད་པ་བདག་གིས་བརྗོད་ཀྱང་དྲག་པོའི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་རང་སྐྱ་གྲགས་པའི་སྟོ་ནས་བསྟོད་པས་ལྟ་
 ཚོགས་རྣམས་མཉེས་པར་བསམ་ཞེས་པའང་སྤྲུལ་དག་བཞེད། འདི་དག་ནི་ཐབས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རིམ་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བས་བག་
 ཆགས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རྟེན་སྟོད་གྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་དང་། བརྟེན་པ་ལུས་གྱི་མངོན་ཞེན་ལྟ་ཡི་རྣམ་

³²⁰ TS: *brgyad pa*.

པས་སྤྱོད་ཞིང་སེམས་ཉིད་ཡུལ་ལ་འཕྲོ་བ་དེ་བཞག་པའི་ཐབས་ཉིད་དེ་འཛིན་ཟབ་མེད་བཞུན་³²¹ ལ་བཟུང་ནས་དག་ཤོགས་སྒྲིན་
 གསུམ་གྱི་དོ་བོར་སྤྱོད་བའང་། འཁོར་བ་དང་རྣམ་པ་མཐུན་པས་སྤྱིད་པ་སྤྱོད་ཞིང་དག ཟུང་འདས་དང་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་
 མཐུན་པས་འབྲས་བུ་གཞི་ལ་ཤོགས། གཉིས་ཀ་ཤོགས་རིམ་གྱི་སྒྲིན་བྱེད་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ནི་སྤྱིད་དོན་སྤོངས་པ་ལ་གཅེས་པ་ཡིན་
 མོ། །གཉིས་པ་རྣམ་དག་བྲན་པ་ནི། ཤེས་བྱའི་ཆོས་ཀྱན་གཞི་ལས་འབྲས་བུ་གསུམ་དུ་ངེས་པ་ལས། ལམ་བསྐྱེད་
 པའི་རིམ་པ་བསྐྱོམ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྱོད་ཉིད་སྤྱིད་ཆེད་སྤྱིད་པོ་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱིས་།²¹¹ ཐེབ་པའི་གཞི་འབྲས་སྤྱིལ་བའི་དག་པ་བྲན་
 པར་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལྟར་མ་ཡིན་པའི་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་རང་རྒྱུད་པར་བསྐྱོམ་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱུད་བ་རྣམས་གོལ་སར་ལྷུང་བར་འགྱུར་
 བས། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱུད་ཡིག་ལྟ་བུ་རང་རྒྱུད་པར་བསྐྱོམ་ན། དེའི་དབྱིབས་ཅན་གྱི་སྟོག་ཆགས་དམན་པར་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་
 དང་། ཞི་བའི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་པར་བསྐྱོམ་ན་ལྟ་ཆེ་རིང་པོར་སྐྱེ། ཁྲོ་བའི་རྣམ་པ་རང་རྒྱུད་པར་བསྐྱོམ་ན་ལས་གྱི་སྒྲིན་པོར་
 སྐྱེ། མགོ་བརྟན་རང་རྒྱུད་པས་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྲུང་སོགས་སུ་སྐྱེ། ཞེ་སྤང་རང་རྒྱུད་པས་དཔུལ་བའི་གནས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བར་
 འགྱུར་བས། དེས་ན་རྣམ་དག་བྲན་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གལ་ཆེ་བས། དེ་ལ་གཉིས། དང་པོ་ཉིན་གྱི་དག་བྲན་ནི། རྣམ་
 མཁའ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་མེད་མཁའ་གྲོང་སོགས། འབྱུང་བ་ལྟ་ལུ་ལྟའི་མཁའ་གྲོང་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། གཉིས་འཛིན་གྱི་
 རྣམ་པར་ཉོག་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་གདོན་བགོགས་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་མི་རྩལ་པའི་བདར་བསྐྱུང་བའི་གྲུ་ཁང་སྤྱི་དང་། བྱང་
 པར་གདུལ་བྱའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ཅུད་གཅོད་པའི་ནང་མ་མཚན་ཆའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱི་བས་བཅུ་པའི་གྲུ་ཁང་། ཆོགས་
 བརྒྱད་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ཆེན་པོ་བརྒྱད། ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལས་འཁོར་བའི་སྦྱོན་གྱིས་ནམ་ཡང་མ་གོས་
 །²¹² པའི་བདར་པས། ལས་བཞི་ལྟན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་སྤྲོ་ཆོགས་དོན་ཆེ། གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་བ་ཉིད་
 པས་གཞུལ་ལས་ཁང་ཕྱི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤྲོ་ཆོགས་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་ཆད་དང་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡོངས་སུ་ཤོགས་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྟའི་བདག་ཉིད་དང་
 ། དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱུས་མ་ལུས་པའི་བཞུགས་གནས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་སྤྲོ་གསུམ་ལྟན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་བདར་། རང་དུར་
 ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་ཐོད་པ་སྐྱམ་རྟེན་ཆོན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་གས་པ་མངོན་སྤྱོད་ལས་ཀྱིས་³²² གདུག་པ་ཅན་ཆར་གཅོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་དབུས་གྲུ་
 གསུམ་མཐིང་ནག་དོན་ཆེད་བྲག་ཆེན། འཇིགས་སུ་རུང་བ་ལ་བྲག་གི་མཆེ་རིས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་པ་རྩིས་སུ་འཛིན་པའི་ལས་ཀྱི་

³²¹ TS: *bstod*.

³²² TS: *kyi*.

གདུལ་བྱ་ལ་ཆགས་པས་ཕྱི་རོལ་རྒྱ་གསུམ་ཁའོ་བླ་བས་འབྲུགས་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱོར་བ་དེ་ཡང་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་
 ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་གིས་བསྐྱུས་པས་ཐོད་རྒྱུ་པོ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཆེ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པས་རིན་ཆེན་བྱར་བརྒྱད་པ།
 བདེན་བཞིན་མ་པར་དག་པའི་གྲུ་ཆད་བཞི། མཉམ་ཉིད་སྒྲུང་དོར་མེད་པའི་བྲམས་ཀྱིས་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐྱོར་བ། རྣམ་ཐར་
³²³ བཞིའི་སྒྲོན་མ་འབྲུག་ཅིང་འཁོར་བ་རྒྱུན་གཅོད་པའི་སྒྲོན་བཞི་ཞིང་གི་སྒྲོ་ལོགས་བཅད་པ། འབྲུང་པོ་པོ་མེའི་རང་བཞིན་ཅུ་
 སྤུལ་གྱི་ཡ་ཐེམ་མ་ཐེམ་བྱས་པ་སེར་སྒྲ་དག་པ་སྤུལ་ནག་གི་སྒྲིམ་བུ་ཞེ་སྒྲུང་དག་༼²¹³༽པ། ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཀ་བ། ང་
 རྒྱལ་དག་པ། གྲུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཀ་གདན་གཏི་སྤྲུག་དག་པ། བཟའ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཀ་གཞུ་³²⁴ སྤྲུག་དོག་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། སྒྲུ་
 སྐར་བྲལ་ཕྱུ་མ་འདོད་ཆགས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། ཞིང་ཆེན་སྤྲུགས་པའི་ཐོག་སྤྲུབ། བདག་འཛིན་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ། ཉི་
 རྒྱའི་མ་ཐོང་ཀར། འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་མ་རིག་ལུན་པ་སེལ་བའི་བད། ལྷང་ལོར་བཅས་པའི་ཐོད་པའི་ཕ་གྲ། ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲུང་
 བས་ཀུན་ནས་མཛོས་པ་ཁ་བད་ཀྱི་འོག་ནས་ཅིང་སྒྲ་སྒྲོགས་པའི་བྱེད་བ་དང་། རུས་པའི་བྲ་བ་དང་བྲ་བ་བྱེད་པས་མཚན་པ།
 ཟག་པ་མེད་པའི་བདེ་བ་རྒྱུན་མི་ཆད་པའི་བད། ཐམས་ལ་གྱི་རྣམ་རྟོག་སྒྲོགས་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་གཟི་བྱིན་གྱིས་རྣམ་པར་གཏོན་
 པའི་བདར། ཞིང་ཆེན་དང་ཀེང་རུས་ཀྱི་འཕན་དང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྒྲུང་བ། ཕྱོགས་བཞིར་བྲག་གི་ཞུམ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་འབབ་པ་
 ལས་དང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཆང་ཆོང་མི་གནས་པར་སྤྱད་པ། ཐོབ་ཕྱེགས་གནས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཟེར་ཐལ་ལེ་བར་བཏབ་པ། ཐམས་
 ཅད་ཆོས་ཉིད་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བ། ཅིང་ཉི་རྟོག་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་རང་བྱུང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡོངས་སུ་
 རྒྱོགས་པའི་བདེ་ཏྲགས་དང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལུལ་ཉིད་ལས་མི་གཞན་པའི་བདར། ཕྱི་ནས་བལྟས་ན་ནང་གསལ་ཞིང་
 རང་ནས་བལྟས་ན་༼²¹⁴༽ ཕྱི་གསལ་བའོ། །དེའི་དབྱས་སུ་གདན་ཉི་རྒྱ་ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ། མ་ཆགས་པ་པར་
 གཏོ་བོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་མོ་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་དཔའ་ཏྲགས་ཀྱི་གདན་ཏེ། གཞན་རྣམས་ལའང་དེ་བཞིན་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། །གཉིས་པ་
 བརྟེན་པ་ལྷའི་དག་པ་བྱན་པ་ནི། དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱུ་མ་དོག་མཐིང་ནག་ཆོས་ཉིད་འགྱུར་བ་མེད་པ། སྤྱུ་གསུང་མཚོན་
 པའི་ཞལ་གསུམ། ཐེག་པ་རིམ་དགའི་དོན་ཇི་ལྟ་བར་གཟིགས་པའི་སྤྱན་དག། རལ་པ་གྲུན་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་³²⁵ བྱང་སེམས་

³²³ TS: *nnan thar*.

³²⁴ TS: *ka zhu*.

³²⁵ TS: *brgyeng*.

འཕོ་བ་སྤངས་པ། བདུད་བཞི་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་དཔའ་རྟགས་རྟོག་པ། ཡེ་ཤེས་དྲུག་གི་ཕྱག་དྲུག་ བསྐྱ་བ་བཞིའི་
 ཞབས་བཞི། གཡས་ཕྱག་དང་པོའི་ཅེ་དགུ་ས་དགུའི་རྟོག་པ་འཛོམས་པ། བར་པས་ཅེ་ལྔ་དྲུག་ལྔ་དབྱིངས་སུ་སྒྲོལ་བ།
 གཡོན་དང་པོ་མེ་ཡུང་མ་རིག་པའི་བྱད་ཤིང་བསྐྱེགས་པ། བར་པས་ཁ་བྲོ་དྲུག་གསུམ་ཅད་ནས་གཅོད་པ། འོག་མ་
 གཉིས་རི་རབ་ཕུར་བུས་གདུག་ཅན་ཐལ་བར་རྒྱོག་པ། སྒྲོ་གཤོག་ཐབས་ཤེས་བྱུང་འཇུག་གིས་འགོ་བསྒྲོལ་བ། སྤྱི་པོར་
 རུས་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསམ་གཏན་པར་ཕྱིན་སོགས་རྒྱན་དྲུག་པ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་པ་དྲུག་རྟོགས་པ། སྤྱུལ་རྒྱན་ཞེ་སྤང་རྣམ་པར་དག་
 པ། སྤང་ཆེན་གོ་རྒྱུན་གཏི་ལུག་དག་པ། གཡའང་གཞི་འདོད་ཆགས་རྣམ་དག་ སྤྲུག་ཤམ་ང་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ།
 དྲུག་པའི་༼²¹⁵༽ ཅེ་གསུམ་རྟག་ཆད་དང་། གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ལ་མི་གནས་པ། རྟོག་གོ་བྱེད་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་གཉོན་བྱེད་
 གང་གིས་ཀྱང་མི་རྒྱག་པ། མ་རིག་སྤྱན་པ་སེལ་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཡུང་རབ་རྩ་འབར་བའོ། །བདེ་སྟོང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་
 པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར་པས། འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྟོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱས་འདེབས་པས་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱས་འདེབས། ཆོས་ཉིད་
 འགྱུར་མེད་གཅིག་རྩ་རྟོགས་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཞལ་གཅིག་ ཐབས་ཤེས་བྱུང་འཇུག་གི་ཕྱག་གཉིས། ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཀྱིས་རིག་
 པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་མི་གཏོང་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཕྱག་ཞབས་གཡས་ཡབ་ལ་འཁྱུད་པ། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལ་ཆགས་པས་
 གཡོན་དུང་དམར་ཞལ་དུ་སྟོབ་པ། གཞན་རྒྱན་ཆས་ཡབ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ལ། བྱུང་པར་དུ་གཟིག་ཤམ་དགའ་བ་བཅུ་དྲུག་
 གི་རྟེན་ཐིག་ལེ་རྣམས་མ་འདྲེས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོགས་པ་ཉིད་དོ། །གཞན་ཡང་སྒོ་བཅུ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་རྣམས་སྤྱོད་མདོག་ཕྱག་མཚན་
 རྒྱན་ཆས་སོགས་འདྲ་བར་གོང་བཞིན་དག་བྱས་སྤྱོད། བྱུང་པར་མཚན་གྱི་དོན་ཅམ་ལ་སྒོ་བཞི་རམ་ངམ་³²⁶ འུགས་ཀྱིས་
 གདུལ་བྱ་འདུལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཐོག་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། འདིར་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཟིན་པས་ན་ཆེན་པོ། དེ་ཡང་ཆངས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་གཞན་
 གྱི་དབང་དུ་མ་གྱུར་པ་རྣམས་༼²¹⁶༽ ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུལ་བྱར་སྤྱད་པར་མཛད་པས་ན་རྩྭ་མཛད་དང་། ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
 ཕྱིར་རམ་སྤྱས་ཀྱི་དལ་འབྱུང་བས་ན་ཡུམ། གཉིས་སུ་མེད་ཅིང་མི་བྱེད་པས་ན་རྟོག་པ། ཆོས་དབྱིངས་སྤྱོད་པ་མེད་པའི་སྤྱོད་
 འབྱེན་པས་ན་སྤྱོད་མ་གཞི་ངེས་པ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཆོགས་སུ་སྤྱུལ་པས་སམ། ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་ཐུགས་ལས་སྤྱུལ་ཞིང་བྱུང་བས་ན་
 སྤྱུལ་པ། བྱུང་གཟུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་གིས་སྤྱས་པས་ན་ཕྱ་མན། ཕྱག་བརྟན་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ཉན་པའི་
 ཕྱག་བརྟན་པ་ལྟར། དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དང་། སྒོ་བོ་སྒོ་མའི་ལས་བྱེད་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་ཕག་གི་མགོ་ཅན།

³²⁶ TS: ngang ngam.

དཔེར་ན་པག་རྒྱན་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་གཙང་ཚོག་མེད་པ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྱིང་རྩེས་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་བྱེད་ཅིང་ཕྱོགས་རིས་སུ་མི་འབྱེད་པ།
 མིགས་བྱ་གཉིད་ཆེ་ཞིང་སྐམ་ལ་གནས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆོས་ཉིད་མི་རྟོག་³²⁷ པའི་ངང་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་འཁོར་བའི་འདམ་དང་བྲལ་བ།
 རྟག་ཆད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ལས་རྒྱལ་བས་ན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ། ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་མངའ་སྤྱོད་པས་ན་དོན་རྩེ་སྤྱོད་པ། ལྷག་
 ལ་རིམ་བཟང་ལ། ཟས་སུ་ཤ་བ་བཞིན་དུ། བྱིན་གྱི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་འདྲེས་པར་གསལ་ལ་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་
 ཐུགས་སུ་རྒྱུད་པ། བྱ་རྟོན་ཤ་བཞིན་ཡང་སྟོག་མི་²¹⁷ །གཙང་ཅིང་རོག་དང་³²⁸ འདུག་པ་མཐོང་བ་ལྟར།
 གདུལ་བྱའི་དོན་བྱེད་པར་རང་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཞེན་པ་མེད་ཀྱང་། དེ་དང་དེའི་བསམ་པ་མ་ཞུན་པའོ། ཆོས་ཉིད་འགྱུར་བ་མེད་པ་
 ཐུགས་སུ་རྒྱུད་པས། མཐར་འཛིན་པའི་ལྟ་བ་ངན་པ་བརྒྱག་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཁྱོ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་དབྱུག་པ་སྟོན་པོ་དང་། རིག་པའི་
 ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤར་མོ་དང་འབྲ་བས་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དོན་འཛིན་པས་དོན་རྩེ་སྤྱོད་པའོ། གཡག་ནི་རྩམ་ལ་མི་འགྱུར་བ་བཞིན་དུ། རྣམ་
 པར་རྟོག་པའི་མཛོན་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་གདུག་ཅན་ཆར་གཙོད་པ་དང་། བྱ་རོག་གི་མིག་གིས་སྤང་འོག་གཉིས་ཀར་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་
 མཐོང་བ་དང་འབྲ་བར། འཁོར་འདས་གཉིས་ཀར་མི་རྟོག་པར་གཟིགས་པའོ། །ལྟོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བགོགས་ཀྱི་གཉེན་པོ་ཡིན་
 པས་གཤིན་རྒྱུ་གཤེད་དང་། རྣམ་པར་མི་རྟོག་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལ་མངའ་བརྟེན་པས་ན་དུར་ཁྱོད་བདག་མོ། ཤ་བ་རྩི་རྩི་ཞིང་
 འབྲོས་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་ལྟར་རྣམ་རྟོག་ཆོས་ཉིད་དུ་ངོས་ཟིན་ཅིང་འཁོར་བའི་གནས་ན་མི་གནས་པ་དང་འུག་པ་ཉིན་མོ་མི་མཐོང་ཞིང་།
 མཚན་མོ་མཐོང་བ་ལྟར། འཁྱུལ་རྟོག་རྩལ་ཅིང་ཡང་དག་པའི་དོན་གསལ་བའོ། །ཉོན་མོངས་པ་དང་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པས་
 མི་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་²¹⁸ །ལ་བརྩོན་པས་མི་གཡོ་བ་དང་། རང་བཞིན་མི་རྟོག་³²⁹ ཀྱི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་ཉོན་མོངས་
 པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སུ་རྒྱུད་བས་ན་ཡུམ་དོན་གཏུན་ཁུང་མ་དང་། གཟིག་ཐིག་ལེ་བཟང་མཆོང་རྩལ་ཆེ་བ། ཤེས་བྱ་མ་འགགས་
 པར་མ་ཞུན་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྟོབས་དང་ལྷན་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ཏ་ལ་སྤྱིབ་ཤིང་ཡོད་པས་གཞན་གྱི་མི་མཐོང་བ་བཞིན་གནས་
 ལུགས་ཀྱི་དོན་རྒྱུད་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་མི་རྟོགས་³³⁰ པའོ། །བརྩོན་འགྲུས་སྤྱར་བའི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་རྟོའི་དབུ་བྱུང་བས་ན་རྟ་མགིན་
 དང་། མཚན་མའི་རྣམ་རྟོག་ལ་རྩམས་ནས་ན་ཡུམ་དོན་གཏུན་མོ། བྱི་ལ་ཡང་རྩལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་རྒྱུད་ཞི་བའི་རྩལ་དང་ལྷན་

³²⁷ TS: *rtogs*.

³²⁸ TS: *gang su*.

³²⁹ TS: *rtogs*.

³³⁰ TS: *rtog*.

པ་ལྟར། འགྲོ་བ་སྒྲོལ་བའི་དོན་བརྩོན་ཅིང་ཐུགས་ཞི་བའི་ངང་ལས་མ་གཡོས་པ་དང་། ཡུ་ཤུང་ལ་མིག་ཅི་ཡོད་ཅིང་
 གཤོག་པ་དྲག་པོར་གཡོལ་བ་ལྟར། མ་རིག་པའི་ཡིང་རྟོག་སེལ་བར་བརྩོན་ཞིང་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་བྱེད་པའོ། །ཆོས་ཉིད་ལ་
 རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པས་མ་བསྐྱོད་ཅིང་། དྲིགས་པ་ཅན་འཛེམས་པས་གཞན་གྱིས་མི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་། རིག་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་མདའ་
 ལྟ་བུ་འཕངས་ནས་རྣམ་རྟོག་གི་ཡིད་གསོད་པས་ན། ཡུམ་དྲེ་ཆེ་མདའ་སྟེམ་མ། སྤྱང་གི་³³¹སྟོག་གཅོད་པ་ལ་དགའ་
 ཞིང་སྤྱིང་ཆེ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་རིས་མེད་པ་བཞིན། དམ་ཉམས་སྒྲོལ་ཞིང་སྟོད་ལྡན་གྱི་དོན་བྱེད་པ་དང་། བླ་ནི་སྤེར་
 རྒྱུ་²¹⁹མོ་རྩོ་ཞིང་སྤར་དམ་པ་བཞིན། ཐུགས་ཆེ་ཆེན་པོའི་³³²གདུལ་བྱ་ཡལ་བར་མི་འདོར་བའོ། །རྣམ་རྟོག་གི་
 བདུད་ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱིས་ཅིས་འདེབས་པས་ན་བདུད་ཅི་འབྲིལ་བ་དང་། གཉིས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱུད་རྟུལ། རྣམ་རྟོག་སྤར་
 མ་རྟར་གཏོར་བར་བྱེད་པས་ན་ཡུམ་དྲེ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་འབྲིན་མ། སེལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཅུ་ལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་གཅན་གཟན་གཞན་ཟེལ་གྱིས་གཞོན་པ་
 ལྟར། རྟོགས་པའི་ཅུ་ལ་གྱིས་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་བེལ་གྱིས་གཞོན་པ་དང་། ཡ་པོང་གིས་ཆོས་གསུམ་དྲན་པ་ལྟར། ཆོས་
 ཀུན་དུས་གཅིག་ཏུ་རྟོགས་པའོ། །འདོད་ཁམས་གཞུགས་ཁམས། གཞུགས་མེད་ཏེ་ཁམས་གསུམ་ལས་ཡང་ཐོག་གི་
 རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བས་ན་ཁམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། མཚན་མའི་ཆོས་ཀུན་མཚན་མ་མེད་པའི་ངང་དུ་གསོད་པས་ན་ཡུམ་
 དྲེ་ཆེ་གསོད་བྱེད་མ། དོམ་ནི་ཐོག་རྩམ་ཆེ་ལ་མདོག་གནག་ཀྱང་སྤྱིང་དཀར་བ་བཞིན། སེམས་ཅན་སྒྲོལ་བའི་ཐབས་ལ་
 བརྩོན་ཀྱང་ཐུགས་ཞི་བ་ཆོས་ཉིད་ལས་མ་གཡོས་པ་དང་། སྤེམ་པོང་ཡང་ཅུ་ལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་རྒྱག་པ་ལྟར། སྤེན་
 ལས་སྤྱར་མགྲོགས་གྱིས་གདུལ་བྱ་སྤྲོ་ཆོགས་པའི་དོན་བྱེད་པའོ། །གདུལ་བྱའི་དོན་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་སྒྲོལ་རྩལ་པས་སྟོབས་
 བོ་²²⁰ཆེ་དང་། ཐུགས་ཆེ་འགྲོ་བ་དོན་ལ་ངེས་པར་སྟོད་པས་ན་ཡུམ་དྲེ་ཆེ་བསྐྱོད་མ། དྲིང་ནི་རོང་ན་ལ་གཉིད་ཆེ་
 བ་ལྟར་ཐུགས་ཆེས་སེམས་ཅན་མི་གཏོང་ཞིང་རྣམ་རྟོག་གིས་མི་གཡོལ་བ་དང་། བྱི་བ་ཆང་སྟོ་མང་ཡང་གཅིག་ཏུ་འགྲོ་བ་ལྟར།
 ཆོས་སྟོ་བརྒྱུད་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་གི་དོན་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་གི་སེམས་སྟོ་བ་མེད་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྤྱད་པའོ། །དབྱིངས་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཉིས་སུ་
 མེད་པ་སྤྱང་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་སྤྲས་མཆོག་དྲེ་ཆེ་གཞོན་ནུའི་ཕུག་མཚན་དུ་གྱུར་པས་སོ། །གཞན་ཡང་དུག་ཕྱར་འདེབས་པའི་ཆོ་
 ར་སྤྲས་མཆོག་ཏུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པ་དེ་བཟུང་། དབྱ་བགོགས་གྱི་ལུས་རྩལ་ཕྱན་བཞིན་དུ་བརྒྱུག་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཀྱང་ཕུག་

³³¹ TS: *sbyang ki*.

³³² TS: *chenpo'i*.

མཚན་དང་། འདེབས་ཤིང་སྒྲོལ་བའི་ཐབས་ཡོད་ཅད་དང་བཅས་པས་ན་ཕུར་པ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཞེས་བྱ་ལ། དེའང་
 ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབྱིངས་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་སྤྲུལ་བའི་བཞུགས་པའི་ཡང་དག་པར་རྒྱས་གདབ་པས་རྒྱ་མདུད་ཀྱིས་
 མཚན་པ། དེ་ལྟར་མ་རྟོགས་པ་ན་མས་ཚད་མེད་པའི་སྤྱིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་མི་གཏོང་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་སྤྱིན་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་བྱུང་ཞིང་།
 དྲག་པོ་མཛོད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དོན་མཛད་པས་དབལ་བྱུང་གསུམ་མགར་གྱི་སོལ་མལ་ནས་བཏོན་པ་དང་འབྲེལ། །བྱམས་པ་ཚད་
 མེད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་༼²²¹༽ ཐུགས་རྗེས་མི་གཏོང་བའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཅན་གྱི་ཕུ་ཕུད། སྤྱིང་རྗེ་ཚད་མེད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་
 འཛིང་བྱེད་ཞགས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཀང་ཀ དགའ་བ་ཚད་མེད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་སྤོམ་བྱེད་ལྷགས་སྤོམ་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱིན་བྱ། བཏང་
 སྤོམས་ཚད་མེད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་བརྒྱུག་མཛད་བྱིལ་བྱ་ཅན་གྱི་ཁ་ཡི་མགོ་ཅན་དང་། བོ་ཉ་ན་མས་ཀྱང་། སྤྱུ་ལས་སྤྱུ་ལ་
 པའི་ཤུ་ན་སྤྱུ་ལ། སྤྱུ་མདོག་མཐིང་ནག་ཆོས་ཉིད་འབྱུར་བ་མེད་པ། སྤྱིང་གསུམ་འཇིགས་པར་བྱེད་པས་སྤྱུང་གཏོང་།
 སྤྱུ་བ་པ་དང་སྤྱུ་འི་སྤྱིན་ལས་མཛད་པས་ཐུག་གཉིས་ཐོད་ཐྱང་དང་། གནམ་ལྷགས་འཁོར་ལོ། སྤྱུ་ལས་ཕུར་པའི་ཚུ་ན་
 འཕྲོ་བས་དག་བགལས་སྤོལ་བ་སོགས་པོ་ཉ་དམ་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་དམ་དག་དམ་པ་དང་། དགོས་པའི་བྱུང་པར་སོགས་ཤེས་
 པའི་ཉིང་རེ་འཛིན་གྱིས་³³³ རང་རྒྱུད་དུ་འཛིན་པའི་མཚན་མའི་རྟོག་པ་³³⁴ ཀུན་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་འདེབས་པ་ནི་སྤྱིན་མེད་པ་བྱུང་
 པར་གྱི་ལམ་མོ། །གསུམ་པ་ར་རྒྱལ་བརྟན་པ་ནི། རང་ཉིད་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་རྗེ་གཞོན་ནུ་དངོས་ཡིན་རང་གི་མིང་རུས་
 སོགས་ཀྱི་འཛིན་པ་བྱུང་དུ་སྤངས་ཏེ། སྤྱོན་ཀུན་ཟད། ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་ལྡན་གྱི་དཔལ་ཆེན་དེ་རྗེ་གཞོན་ནུ་དེ་ཉིད་འཇིགས་
 དཔལ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་༼²²²༽ ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་ང་ལ་ཡོད། དེའི་ཕྱིར་ང་དཔལ་དེ་རྗེ་གཞོན་ནུ་དེ།
 ངའི་སྤྱིམ་པའི་ར་རྒྱལ་བརྟན་པོ་ལྷ་ཉིད་བྱུང་དུ་མ་གྱུར་པར་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་སྤྱོད་བའོ། །སྤྱིང་ཡང་ར་རྒྱལ་དང་གསལ་སྤྱང་དེ་
 ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་དུ་རང་བཞིན་མ་བཅོས་པའི་རྩལ་དུ་མཉམ་པར་འཇོག་པ་ནི་ཟབ་གསལ་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་རྩལ་དུ་འབྱུར་རོ།
 །བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ལྷ་སྤྱིའི་ཉི་བར་མཚོན་པའི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་དུ་བྲལ། རྟེན་འབྱུང་གི་རིག་པ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་སྤྱང་བ་
 རང་བཞིན་མ་གྲུབ་པའི་རྩལ་ལ་དམིགས་ནས་གསལ་སྤྱིང་དུ་བསྐྱོམ་པའོ། །གཉིས་པ་ཇོ་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་གསུང་གི་ནལ་འབྱུར་
 བྱི། སྤྱིར་སྤྱགས་ལ་གསུམ་སྤྱེ། རྒྱ་མཐོར་བ་ཅ་བའི་སྤྱགས་ནི་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་དང་། གཉིས་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་

³³³ TS: *gyi*.

³³⁴ TS: *rtogs pa*.

ཞིང་འཛེལ་བར་བྱེད་པས་ཐོབ་ཅེས་གྲང་བྱའོ། །བརྒྱ་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱི་བརྒྱས་པའི་སྟོན་དུག་སྤང་ལ་བརྒྱས་ཏེ། སྤྱུ་རྩ་ན་འབྲུ་
 འབྲེས་པའི་སྟོན། སྤྱུ་བུལ་ན་བྱེར་བའི་³³⁶སྟོན། སྤྱུ་ཆེས་པའམ་དུག་ན་ཕོག་ཐུག་འོང་ཞིང་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་མ་འབྲངས་པའི་སྟོན།
 སྤྱུ་ཞན་པའམ་²²⁵ཀྱེ་རྩུ་ན་རུས་པ་མི་ཐོན་པའི་སྟོན། བྱིང་སྤྱུགས་སྤྱུ་སོང་ན་སྤྱུ་མི་དག་པའི་སྟོན། བོད་ནས་
 གཡེངས་ཤིང་སེམས་འཕྲོས་པས་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་མི་གསལ་བའི་སྟོན་ནོ། །གཞན་ཡང་མི་ཆོག་གི་བར་མ་ཆོད་པ་དང་།
 ཡིག་འབྲུ་ཆད་ལྷག་ཅན་སྤང་ངོ། །དེ་ལྟར་བརྒྱ་ན། གསལ་བར་བརྒྱ་སྟེ། མ་འབྲེས། མ་འབྲེལ་བ་སྤྱུ་བར་མ་
 ཆད་པར་བརྒྱས། དག་པར་བརྒྱ་སྟེ། སྤྱུགས་ཆད་ལྷག་མེད་པར་བྱུར་བྱིན་པར་བརྒྱས། བཅོམ་པར་བརྒྱས་ཏེ།
 རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད་པ་རྒྱ་བའི་རྒྱུན་ལྟར་བརྒྱ་འོ། །བསྟེན་པའི་བསྟེན་བྱ་ནི། བསྟེན་པ་མ་རྒྱུགས་བར་དུ་གནས་སྟོས་ན་དངོས་
 བྱུ་བོ་ཟག་དོན་མེད་དུ་འབྱུང་བས་གནས་མི་སྟོ། །ཡང་བེ་རྟོ་ལས། མི་བསྟོལ་མི་བཤད་གཞན་མི་བསམ། །ཞེས་
 པས་བསྟེན་པའི་མཚན་རྟགས་མ་ཐོན་བར་དུ་ལྟ་ཉིད་མི་བསྟོལ་ཏེ། གཞན་གྱི་ནད་པ་གདོན་ཅན་ཀུན་ལ་ལྟ་དེའི་སྟོན་སྟེན་
 རྒྱལ་མི་བྱ། བྱས་ན་བོ་ཟག་མཚན་མ་འབྲིབ་པའོ། །ཟས་གོས་གྲང་རང་དབང་རྒྱས་ལ་བརྟེན་པས་འབྲུབ་སྟེ། སྟིང་
 བོའང་སྤྱུ་བའི་དུས་མ་ཡིན་པ་གཞན་ལ་མི་བཤད་དོ། །མི་བསམ་ཞེས་པས་སེམས་ཅུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྟ་ལ་དམིགས་
 པ་མ་གཏོགས་²²⁶ཀྱེ་པ་རྟོག་ཚོགས་གང་ཡང་ཡིད་ལ་མི་བྱ། ཐ་ན་ལྟ་རྟོག་ཡི་གེའི་རིས་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཡེང་བ་སྤངས་
 ཏེ་བསྟེན་པར་བྱའོ། །དེ་ལྟར་བརྒྱ་བའང་། དུས་གངས་རྟགས་གྱི་བསྟེན་པ་གསུམ་གང་ཅུང་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་དུས་ནི།
 དགོངས་རྒྱུད་ལས་ལུན་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཅམ་དུ་བསྟིངས། ཞེས་པས་རང་གི་རུས་པ་དང་སྤྱུར་བ་དང་གངས་གྱི་བསྟེན་པ་ནི། དེ་
 སྤྱེད་དུ། བསྟེན་སྤྱུ་བ་ཆོག་ཆང་བྱས་ནས། །འཛེལ་གངས་བདུན་འབུམ་ཉི་ཁྲི་འདོན། ཞེས་པས། གངས་ཆད་
 བདུན་འབུམ་ཉི་ཁྲི་ཡན་ཆོད། མཚན་མའི་བསྟེན་པ་ནི། རབ་དངོས་སྤྱུ་ཞལ་སྟོན་པ། འབྲིང་ཕུར་པ་འཕུར་འབྲབ་བྱེད་
 པ་དང་། ཐམ་སྤྱུ་དང་། འོད་དང་མི་ལམ་དུ་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་བདུང་བ། དུང་འབྲུད་པ། ཉི་རྒྱུ་ལུས་ལ་ཤར་བ་དང་།
 མཚོན་རྟོན་པོ་ཐོག་པ་མིས་པ་སོགས་སྟོད་སྤྱུར་ཏེ་ཉམས་སྤྱུ་སྤྱང་བར་བྱའོ། །གསུམ་པ་ཐུགས་གྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ནི། རང་
 སེམས་སྟོས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་བྲལ་བ་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཞེས་ཅུའི་རང་དུ་རྒྱུགས་ཤིང་། ངོ་བོ་སྟོང་ལ་རང་བཞིན་གསལ་བའི་སྤྱུང་ཆ་

³³⁶ TS: *byer bar*.

རྣམས་དངོས་མེད་སྒྲུ་མ་ལྟ་བུར། རྟོག་³³⁷ བྲལ་ཤར་གྲོལ་དུས་མཉམ་འདྲེན་གསལ་གྱི་ངང་དུ་མཉམ་པར་བཞག་པའོ།
 །དེ་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རིམ་པ་སོགས་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྐྱོམ་པའི་སྐབས་མེད་དུ་²²⁷ ། མི་རུང་བའི་གདམས་པ་ལྟ་དོན་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་
 བྱིར། རང་གི་སེམས་རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱད་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷ་ཡི་སྦྱ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་སུ་ཤར་བ་ལ། དེ་ཡང་
 རིག་པ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས། ལྷ་སྦྱའི་འབྲས་བྱར་གཏོད་ནས་དུ་མ་རོག་ཅིག་ཏུ་སྦྱིན་པའི་བསྐྱེད་ཚོགས་དབྱེར་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་
 ཆེན་པོའི་སྦྱར་ལ་མ་རྒྱོམ་ན། བསྐྱེད་རིམ་རང་རྒྱུད་པ་སྦྱུད་པའི་བག་ཆགས་བརྟས་པ་ཅོམ་ནི། རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ་བའི་ལས་
 ལས་རིང་བའི་བྱིར་སྟོག་སྟོམ་གཟེར་བཞིའི་མན་ངག་གཅིས་པར་བསྟན་ཏེ། རྒྱུད་གསང་ཚོགས་ལས། ཡེ་ཤེས་འཇིག་
 རྟོན་གང་ལ་ཡང་། །སྟོག་སྟོམ་གཟེར་བཞི་³³⁸ མ་ཐེབ་ན། །ནམ་ཡང་དོན་མེད་ཡུག་པ་རྒྱང་། །ཡོངས་ཚོགས་
 དཔལ་གྱི་སྟོག་འཕྲོག་ཐབས། །གཅིག་ཤེས་པ་ནི་ཀུན་སྟོག་ཐོབ། །དཔེར་ན་སྦྱ་གཅན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཁས། །ནམ་མཁའི་
 ཉིམ་གཅིག་ཟིན་པར། །རྒྱ་བཙན་སྟོང་གི་ཉིམ་ཀུན། །མ་བརྒྱུད་པར་ཡང་སྟོང་སྟོག་ཐོབ། །དེ་བྱིར་སྟོག་སྟོམ་གཟེར་
 བཞི་གཅིས། །ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་ལས། ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱི་གཟེར་ནི། དམིགས་རྟོན་སོགས་ལྟའི་རྣམ་པ་ལ་སེམས་ཅུ་
 གཅིག་ཏུ་གཏད་ནས་བསྐྱོམ་པས་ལུས་ཐམས་ལ་དུ་འཛིན་པའི་མངོན་ཞེན་ལྟའི་སྦྱར་ཚོགས་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱུད་ལས་²²⁸ ། ཉིང་
 འཛིན་གཟེར་ནི་ཐོད་སྦྱལ། ཅུ་གཅིག་སེམས་བརྒྱུད་ཡིངས་མི་བྱ། །ཡུལ་གསུམ་གྱུད་དུ་གྱུར་པ་དང་། །དཔལ་ཆེན་
 ཉེ་དུ་ཀ་དངོས་མཇལ། །སྟོག་པ་ཉེ་དུ་ཀས་མི་སྦྱོད། །ཉིང་འཛིན་མི་འགྱུར་གཟེར་མེད་ན། །སྦྱ་ནི་ནམ་ཡང་མཐོང་
 མི་འགྱུར། །ཞེས་སོ། །དེ་ལ་ཡུལ་གསུམ་གྱུད་དུ་གྱུར་ཆུ་ལ་ནི། །དང་པོ་བསམ་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གསལ། །དེ་ནས་
 མཐོང་བའི་ཡུལ་ལ་གསལ། །དེ་ནས་རིག་པའི་ཡུལ་ལ་གསལ་བས་སེམས་ལྷ་སྦྱར་སྦྱིན་པའི་ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་ཕྱད་པ་ལ་གསལ་
 བ་གྱུད་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྦྱིང་པོ་སྟགས་ཀྱི་གཟེར་ནི། ཐུགས་སྟོག་ལ་ཅུ་སྟགས་འཁོར་བ་དང་། རོ་
 ལི་ལ་འདུན་པ་ཅུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞུར་ཏེ་རིགས་པ་བགྲངས་པས་འབྱུང་འབྱུག་གནས་གསུམ་གསུང་གི་ངོ་བོར་དག་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱུད་
 ལས། སྦྱིང་པོ་སྟགས་གཟེར་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི། གཙོ་བོའི་སྟགས་དག་སེལ་མེད་བརྒྱས། །ཐུགས་སྟོག་རྩྱི་ལ་ཅུ་
 སྟགས་འཁོར། །གསལ་བའི་འཕྲོ་འདུ་སྟོག་སྟགས་བགྲངས། །དེ་ཆོ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལུང་ཡང་སྟོན། །རྣམ་པའི་རྩལ་

³³⁷ TS: *rtogs*.

³³⁸ TS: *bzhi'i*.

རྫོགས་ལྷ་རྣམས་འཁོར། རྫོགས་སྤྱིང་བསྐྱེན་རྫོགས་གཟེར་མེད་ན། ལྷ་དང་དམ་ཅན་ཁྲག་མི་སྤྱིང། ཅེས་སོ།
 འདྲེས་པ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་གཟེར་ནི། དཔལ་༼²²⁹༽ ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཞི་བློའི་ལྷ་ཅི་ལྷར་སྐྱབ་ཀྱང་དེ་ཉིད་རང་
 སེམས་ལས་གྲུད་ན་མེད་པར་རྫོགས་པས་ལྷ་དང་ཆོས་ཉིད་རོ་མཉམ་ཆེན་པོར་བརྟུང་དུ་སྤྲིན་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱུད་ལས། དགོངས་
 པའི་གཟེར་ནི་ཞི་བློའི་ལྷ། ཡོངས་རྫོགས་དཔལ་ཆེན་རང་སེམས་ལས། གྲུད་ན་མེད་ཅིང་རུ་ཅ་ཡང་། འཇོག་ན་
 མེད་དོར་གི་སེམས། སེམས་ཉིད་སྟོང་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྒྱ། གསལ་ལ་མ་འདྲེས་འོངས་སྟོང་རྫོགས། ལྷ་ཆོགས་
 རང་ཤར་སྐྱལ་པའི་སྒྱ། ལྷར་བ་ཡབ་ལ་སྟོང་པ་ཡུམ། ལྷར་སྟོང་དབྱེར་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྱ། འགྲུ་ཤར་རྣམ་རྟོག་
 བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱང་། ཡོངས་སྤྱིར་གསལ་པ་དཔལ་གྱི་འཁོར། བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱབ་ཡེ་སངས་རྒྱས། རང་བཞིན་ཉིད་
 ལས་གཡོས་པ་མེད། འདྲེས་པ་མི་འགྱུར་གཟེར་མེད་ན། འདལ་ཆེན་སྐྱབ་ཀྱང་ཐུན་མོང་ལས། མཆོག་མི་
 འགྲུབ་ཅིང་རུ་ཅ་གོལ། ཞེས་སོ། འཕྲོ་འདུའི་གཟེར་ནི། རྣམ་བཞིའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རང་དབང་དུ་བྱེད་
 པའི་ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་པོ། བཞུ་བཏུལ་གྱི་ལས་ལ་ཆར་དཀར་གཅེས་པ་ལྷ་བུ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྒྱུད་ལས། འཕྲོ་འདུའི་གཟེར་ནི་
 དམིགས་པ་ཡི། བསྐྱུར་བ་ཤས་ན་འདོད་དགྲར་འགྱུར། ཉིང་རེ་འཛིན་གྱི་འཕྲོ་འདུ་ཡིས། སེམས་ཀྱི་ལྷས་
 ༼²³⁰༽ པ་རྩལ་རྫོགས་ཏེ། གང་ལྟར་བསམ་པ་དེ་ལྟར་སྒྲུང་། ལྷགས་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱའི་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་མཐུས། ཞི་
 རྒྱས་དབང་དང་མཛོད་སྟོང་སོགས། ཤན་གནོད་ལས་ཀ་གང་ཡང་འགྲུབ། འདེར་ན་ནོར་བུ་གཅིག་ཉིད་ལ།
 གསོལ་མཆོད་རྒྱུན་གྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རུ། རྩི་ལྟར་འདོད་པ་སོ་སོར་བསྐྱངས། འཕྲོ་འདུ་སྤྱི་ཆོགས་གཟེར་མེད་ན།
 འདམིགས་གཏད་གཅིག་ལས་དོན་མི་འགྲུབ། འཕྲོ་འདུས་ལས་ཁ་བསྐྱུར་ཤེས་ན། ཐེ་བྱང་ཐ་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གིས་ཀྱང་།
 སྤྲིན་ལས་ཐོགས་མེད་ལས་ཀུན་འགྲུབ། ཐམས་ཅད་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་ཡིན། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་གཟེར་བཞིའི་
 མན་ངག་གནད་དུ་རྒྱུད་པས་སྒྱུ་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་སྟེ་སྒྱུའི་སྟོག་འཕྲོག འདག་ལ་བདེན་པ་འགྲུབ་པས་གསུང་གི་སྟོག་འཕྲོག
 ཆོས་ཉིད་ལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ་པས་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྟོག་འཕྲོག བདེ་གཤེགས་ཞི་བློའི་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ཐུགས་དང་རང་གི་སྟོག་གསུང་དུ་
 མ་རོག་ཅིག་རུ་འདྲེས་པས་འཁོར་འདས་ཀུན་ལ་སྟོང་སྟོག་ཐོབ། ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྩལ་འབྱོངས་ཤིང་སྤྲིན་ལས་སྤྱི་ཆོགས་ལ་རང་
 དབང་འབྱོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཞེས་ཆོ་འདིར་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སྐྱབ་པ་ལ། མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་བྱང་ཆོས་ཟབ་མེད་ལམ།
 འབད་པས་གྲུབ་པ་དངོས་པོའི་ཆོས་ཉིད་སྟེ། ༼²³¹༽ འབད་མེད་ལྷན་གྲུབ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་བ་ཡིན། ཞེས་ཆོ་ཅན་སྤྲིན་

བདུད་དག་འདུལ་བས་ན། །ཐུབ་གཉིས་འདོད་པ་འཛོལ་གྱུ་གས་པའི་གཏམ། །ཐུབ་འཇུག་ཁྲིས་པའི་སྒྲ་སྒྲིད་ཀྱང་
 འགོགས་ལྷས་པ། བེཾ་ཏ་མའི་དགོངས་པ་མ་ལགས་སམ། །དེ་ལྟར་ནའང་རྫོང་འཕྲང་སྒོག་གསུམ་གྱི། །གནད་
 དང་ལྡན་ལས་ཐམལ་སྒྲུང་ཞེན་གྱིས། །བཅིངས་པས་བྱང་རྩབ་ལམ་ལ་འཇུག་དཀའ་བས། །དེ་ལྟར་མན་ངག་གནད་
 དང་ལྡན་པར་གཅེས། །འདི་ན་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྐྱོམ་བྱའི་གནད། །རིག་འཛིན་སྒྲ་མའི་ཞལ་ལུང་གང་གའི་
 རྒྱུན། །ཐལ་འབྱིན་དགོངས་པའི་རྒྱ་གཏིར་ལ་འཇུག་པ། །ཐར་འདོད་སྒྲ་ལ་བཟང་སྒོག་གི་བདུད་ཅི་ཡིན། །སྦྱིང་རྩེ་
 ཁྲིས་པའི་དཔའ་བོ་ཉེ་རྩ་ག །ལོག་ཏྲོག་བདུད་དག་འཛོམས་ལ་ཆས་པའི་ཆོ། །མཚོན་ཆའི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱོར་བས་དམ་
 ཉམས་སྒོག་ །ཐུ་མར་འཐག་པའི་མཐུ་སྟོབས་དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་། །སྲིད་གསུམ་ཐལ་འབྱིན་སྲིད་པ་ཡུར་བྱ་ཉིད།
 །དགོངས་པ་བཞི་ལྡན་ཡུལ་ལ་རབ་ཐེབ་ནས། །འགྲོ་ཀུན་བྱང་རྩབ་མཚོག་གི་ལམ་བཟོད་དེ། །ཐུབ་བདག་དྲེ་རྩེ་སེམས་
 དང་དབྱེར་མེད་ཤོག །ཅེས་ཡུར་པའི་ལྷ་ཁྲིད་རང་སྒྲོ་དང་མཚམས་པར་བལྟ་བཤེར་བཞོད་པ་²³² །འདི། །རིགས་
 ཀུན་ཐུབ་བདག །གཏིར་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པའི་ཐུགས་བརྩེ་བས་ཉེ་བར་གདམས་པའི་ཞལ་ཁྲིད་ལེགས་པར་ཐོས་པ་རྣམས་
 བསྐྱེལ་བར་དོགས་ནས་ལྷག་བསམ་དང་དད་འདུན་རྣམ་པར་དག་པས་མཚམས་སྦྱར་ཏེ། །སྒྲ་མའི་ཞལ་ལུང་མན་ངག་གི་
 རིམ་པ་རྣམས་གཞིར་བཞག །རིག་འཛིན་དམ་པ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཞེད་སྒོལ་གྱིས་རུང་ཟད་རུར་བརྒྱན་ཏེ་འོག་མིན་ཀམ་རི།
 ཐུབ་པ་མཚོག་གི་བསྐྱེ་བནས་གསང་སྒྲགས་པོ་བྱང་དྲེ་རྩེ་བཞོད་པར། །གཏིར་ཆེན་སྒྲ་མའི་སྟོབ་འབངས་ཀུན་ལས།
 སྦྱིས་སྦྱངས་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་གལ་མཐར་གནས་པ། །ཆ་བ་བརྒྱུ་ཀམ་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་བྱིས་པའི་རྣམ་དཀར་རི་སྦྱོད་པའི་
 མཐུས། །སྦྱབས་མཚོག་རིག་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས་ཞབས་པད་བསྐྱལ་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོར་བརྟན་ཅིང་། །འགྲོ་ཀུན་བདུད་བཞིའི་གཡུལ་
 ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱར་གྱུར་ཅིག །སུ་ཇ་ཡ། །

Bibliography

Tibetan Sources:

Kar ma rin chen dar rgyas. 1983. *Gu ru'i thugs dam zab pa skor bdun las mngon spyod drag po'i las kyi zab pa yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi spyi don rnam bsad rig 'dzin rtsal chan rnam gñis kyi zal lun zab don ban mdzod*. Gangtok, Sikkim, Sherab Gyaltzen Lama.

Kun bzang dpal ldan. (undated). *Gangs ri'i khrod kyi smra ba'i seng ge gcig pu 'jam mgon mi pham rgya mtsho'i rnam thar snying po bsdus pa dang gsung rab kyi dkar chag snga 'gyur bstan pa'i mdzod rgyan*. Kathmandu: Shechen Monastery.

Dkon mchog 'gyur med. 1982. *Gter chen mchog gyur bde chen gling pa'i rnam thar bkra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag gsal byed*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa*. 1982 vol. 38: 1-629.

Mkha' khyab rdo rje. 1981a. *Rgyal dbang mkha' kyab rdo rje'i bka' 'bum*. Paro: Lama Ngodrup.

_____. 1981b. *Pha rgol 'jom pa'i gtam rdo rje'i me char ma rungs klad 'gems yang dag snang ba'i dga' ston ces bya ba bi ha ra ti sma in Mkha' kyab rdo rje* 1981a vol. na: 323-409.

Guru chos kyi dbang phyug. 1979. "gTer 'byung chen mo." In *The Autobiography and Instructions of Gu-ru chos-kyi-dbang-phyug*. Paro, Bhutan: Ugyen Tempai Gyaltzen, vol. 2, pp. 75-193.

'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub. No date. *Bskyed pa'i rim pa cho ga dan sbyar ba'i gsal byed zung 'jug snye ma*. No publication data.

Chag lo tsā ba et al. 1979. *Snags log sun 'byin gyi skor*. Thim-phu : Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji.

Mchog gyur gling pa (et al.). 1972. *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig sgrub skor*. Xylographic print from blocks preserved at Rum btegs (Rumtek) karma chos sgar in Sikkim. Rum btegs.

_____. 1975. *The collected rediscovered teachings (gter ma) of gter chen mchog gyur gling pa / gter chen mchog gyur bde cheng gling pa'i zab gter chos skor*. Vols. 1-32. Reproduced from a set of the rtsi rke blockprints and unpublished manuscripts from the library of mchog glin sprul sku. New Delhi, Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltzen, Dolanji, H.P.

_____. 1982a. *The treasury of revelations and teachings of Gter chen mchog gyur bde chen gling pa*. Vols. 1-39. Expanded redaction of the Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa revelations./ Reproduced from an enlarged collection of texts representing the

tradition of gnas brtan dgon pa supplemented with texts from Tibet. Paro, Bhutan: Lama Pema Tashi.

- _____. 1982b. *Sprul pa'i gter ston chen mo'i rnam thar gyi sa bon zhal gsung ma dang gter 'byung 'ga' zhis 'bel gtam sna tshogs bcas*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. chi: 175-230.
- _____. 1982c. *Thugs rje chen po padma gtsug tor dri ma med pa'i sgrub thabs theg dgu dang 'brel ba gter gzhung*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. tha: 125-266.
- _____. 1982d. *Thugs rje chen po padma gtsug tor gyi bka' srung rdo rje phyag drug pa'i phyi sgrub dang las byang bstan dgra tshar gcod bcas gter gzhung*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. tha: 267-291.
- _____. 1982e. *Dga' rab rdo rje'i snying thig las yi dam zhi ba'i sgrub pa*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. ya: 3-14.
- _____. 1982f. *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub yid bzhin nor bu las phrin las dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. ha: 101-139.
- _____. 1982g. *Yon tan gnas gtso ru dam gangs kyi ra ba'i sbas gnas chen po'i lo rgyus 'gro don mtha' yas*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. gi: 127-146.
- _____. 1982h. *Zhi byed bdun gyi man ngag bdud rtsi bum pa gter gzhung*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. gi: 159-201.
- _____. 1982i. *Ge sar skyes bu don 'grub kyi sgrub thabs grub gnyis dpyid ster las bzhi lhun grub*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. ngi: 379-399.
- _____. 1982j. *Zab bdun rtsa gsum gdams skor las 'chi med tshe yi las byang padma'i phreng ba*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. pha: 231-269.
- _____. 1982k. *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi rgyud kyi rtsa dum phur bzhi don chen dam pa'i rgyud sogs nas cog brdung glo bur sgrub pa'i bar bcas*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. tsa: 71-204.
- _____. 1982l. *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig las las byang phrin las 'dus pa*. In Mchog gyur gling pa 1982a, vol. tsa: 213-221.
- _____. No date. *Zab bdun phur pa cha tshang*. Rumtek Monastery, Gangtok.
- 'Jam mgon kong sprul (ed.). 1976a. *Rin chen gter mdzod*. vol. 1-63. Paro, Bhutan: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey.
- _____. 1976b. *Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen vaidūrya'i phreng ba*. In 'jam mgon 1976a: vol. 1:291-759.

_____. 1982a. *Sprul pa'i gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i rnam thar gsol 'debs bkra shis 'khyil pa'i dbyangs snyan*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 1-9.

_____. 1982b. *Rje gter chen bla ma dbus phebs skor gyi lam yig mdor bsdus bkra shis dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i dbyangs snyan*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 155-184.

_____. 1982c. *Dgongs gter sgrol ma'i zab tig las legs so gsum gyi don khrid gsal bar bkod pa grub gnyis thig le*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. gi: 365-459.

'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po. 1982a. *Gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i rnam thar gsol 'debs kyi bsdus don bkra shis dbyangs kyi yan lag*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 9-11.

_____. 1982b. *Skyes rabs gsol 'debs mu tig dmar po'i phreng ba'i zin thun vaidūrya'i mdo 'dzin*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 61-80.

_____. 1982c. *Gter chen rnam thar las 'phros pa'i dris lan bkra shis dbyangs snyan bskul ba'i dri bzhon*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 15-52.

Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer. 1976. *Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rab chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba rnam thar zangs gling ma*. In 'Jam mgon kong sprul 1976a, vol. 1: 1-204.

_____. 1988. *Nyang ral chos 'byung chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*. Vol. 5 of the *Gangs can rig mdzod*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Dil mgo mkhyen brtse. 1982. *Dag snang ge sar skyes bu don 'grub kyi dbang mchog phrin las kun khyab*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ngi: 401-410.

Bdud 'joms ye shes rdo rje. 1996. *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*. Peking: mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Rdo grub chen bstan pa'i nyi ma. 1975. *Las 'phro gter kyi rnam bshad nyung gsal ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*. In *The Collected Works of rDo Grub Chen 'Jigs Med Bstan Pa Nyima*, vol. 4, pp. 177-447. Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Rinpoche.

Padma ye shes. 1982a. *Gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i thun mong phyi yi rnam thar bkra shis skye ba lnga pa'i dbyangs snyan*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 81-153.

_____. 1982b. *Rje gter chen bla ma dbus phebs skor gyi lam yig mdor bsdus bkra shis dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i dbyangs snyan*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 155-184.

Dpa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba. 1986. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga ston*. Peking: mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Mi pham rgya mtsho. 1984. *Gter ston brtag ba chu dwangs nor bu*. In *gangs ri'i khrod kyi smra ba'i seng ge tham cad mkhyen gzigs ma ha' pan di ta* Mi pham pham 'jam dbyangs rnam rgyal rgya mtsho 'i bka' 'bum spar gsar. Vol. 14, pp. 475-487. Paro, Bhutan: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey.

Rtse le sna tshogs rang grol. 1979. *Slob dpon rin po che padma'i rnam thar chen mo las brtsams te dri ba'i lan nges don gsal byed*. In *The Complete Works of Rtse le rgod tshang pa padma legs grub*, vol. ga, pp. 397-491. Gangtok: Mgon po tshe brtan.

Tsha ba bhan dhe karma rin chen rnam rgyal. 1982. *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi lha khrid gsal bar bkod pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i shal lung*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. tsha: 187-232.

_____. 1984. *Dpal gsang ba snying po'i rgyud kyi mchan 'grel nor bu'i sgron me*. Paro, Bhutan: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey.

Ratna gling pa rin chen dpal bzang po. 1972. *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i sgron me rtsod zlog seng ge'i nga ro*. Palampur, H. P.: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang.

_____. 1977. *Gter 'byung chen mo gsal ba'i sgron me*. In *chos rgyal Ratna gling pa'i gter chos*, vol. kha, pp. 1-251. Darjeeling: Taklung Tsetrul Pema Wangyal.

Klong chen pa 'dri med 'od zer. 1992a. *Mkha 'gro yang thig*. In *Snying thig ya bzhi*, vol. 3-4. Berkeley: Yeshe De Project.

_____. 1992b. *Gter 'byung Rin po che'i Lo rgyus*. In Klong chen pa 1992a, vol. 3 (lo rgyus), pp. 1-135.

_____. 1992c. *Them byang rin chen ljon shing*. In Klong chen pa 1992a, vol. 3 (them byang) pp. 1-17.

_____. Undated. *Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter mdzod bstan pa gsal bar byed pa'i nyi 'od*. No publishing details available. Another version is published by Dodrup Sangyey Lama, Gangtok, 1976.

Zla bzang rin po che. 1982a. *Rje rig pa 'dzin pa gter chen mchog gyur gling pa'i skyes rabs kyi gsol 'debs mu tig dmar po'i phreng ba*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. ti: 53-59.

Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan. 1998. *Gsang snags snga 'gyur la bod du rtsod pa snga phyir byung ba rnams kyi lan du brjod pa nges pa don gyi 'brug sgra bzhugs*. Peking: mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Unknown. 1982. *gter chen mchog gyur gling pa yi zab bdun gter mdzod bzhes pa'i tshul lo rgyus ngo mtshar lnga ldan*. In *Mchog gyur gling pa* 1982a, vol. na: 341-362.

U rgyan gling pa. 1996. *Padma bka' thang*. Peking: mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Non-Tibetan Sources:

Aris, Michael. 1989. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: a Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Barron, Richard, transl. 2003. *The autobiography of Jamgön Kongtrul: a Gem of Many Colors*. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Bischoff, F.A. and Charles Hartman. 1971. "Padmasambhava's Invention of the Phurbu: Ms. Pelliot Tibétain 44." In *Etudes tibétaines*, 1971.

Blondeau, A. M. 1980. "Analysis of the Biographies of Padmasambhava According to Tibetan Tradition: Classification of Sources." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies Oxford 1979*, Michael Aris, ed., pp. 45-52.

_____. 1988. "La controverse soulevée par l'inclusion de rituels bon po dans le Rin-chen gter-mdzod. Note préliminaire" in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer, Munich, 1985*, J. L. Panglung, ed., München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 59-76.

Boord, Martin J. 1993. *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla*. Tring, U.K.:The Institute of Buddhist Studies.

_____. 2002. *A Bolt of Lightning From the Blue: The vast commentary on Vajrakīla that clearly defines the essential points*. Berlin: edition khordong.

Boord, Martin J. and Losang Norbu Tsonawa, transl. 1996. *Overview of Buddhist Tantra: General Presentation of the Classes of Tantra, Captivating the Minds of the Fortunate Ones*. Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Broido, M.M. 1988. "Killing, Lying, Stealing and Adultery: A problem of Interpretation in the Tantras." In *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, Donald Lopez, ed., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 71-118.

Buswell, Robert E., ed. 1990. *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Cabezón, José and Jackson, Roger. eds., 1995. *Tibetan Literature – Studies in Genre*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.
- Chokgyur Lingpa. 1990a. *Trinley Nyingpo, the essence of activity : a guru rinpoche sadhana*. Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- _____. 1990b. *The concise manual for daily practice according to Lamey Thukdrub Barchey Kunsel, the guru's heart practice, dispeller of all obstacles : a terma treasure*. Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- _____. 1990c. *The practice of the single form of vajra kumara according to the teaching of Sangtik Nyingpo : a Dharma treasure*. Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- Chokling Rinpoche. 2001. *Lotus Ocean: Seeds of the Sublime Dharma*. Kuala Lumpur: Ka-Nying Ling Dharma Society.
- Cüppers, Christoph and Per K Sørensen. 1998. *Collection of Tibetan Proverbs and Sayings: Gems of Tibetan Wisdom and Wit*. Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Dagyab, Loden Sherap. 1995. *Buddhist symbols in Tibetan culture : an investigation of the nine best-known groups of symbols*. Boston, Ma.: Wisdom Publications.
- Dargyay, Eva M. 1979. *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- _____. 1981. "A gTer-ston Belonging to the dGe-lugs-pa School." *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 24-30.
- Das, Sarat Chandra. 1902. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Repr. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.
- Davidson, Ronald. 1990. "An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism." In Buswell 1990, pp. 291-325.
- _____. and Steven Goodman, eds. 1992. *Tibetan Buddhism: reason and Revelation*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- _____. 2002a. "Gsar ma Apochypha: the Creation of Orthodoxy, Gray Texts, and the New Revelation." In Eimer 2002, 203-224.
- _____. 2002b. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: a Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- De Jong, J.W. 1984. "A new history of tantric literature in India." in *Acta Indologica* VI, 1984, pp. 91-113.

- Doctor, Andreas. 2002. "Catalogue of the New Treasures of Mchog gyur gling pa." *Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library*, University of Virginia (Website: <http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/index.html>).
- Dorje, Gyurme and Matthew Kapstein. 1991. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*. Vol. II. Boston: Wisdom.
- Douglas, Kenneth and Gwendolyn Bays. 1978. *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava*, 2 vols. Emeryville: Dharma Publications.
- Dowman, Keith. 1973. *The Legend of the Great Stupa*. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.
- _____. 1998. *The Sublime Life and Songs of Drukpa Kunley*. Dawn Horse Press.
- Dudjom Rinpoche. 1991. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*. Vol. I. Boston: Wisdom.
- Eastman, Kenneth W. 1983. "Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang." *Bulletin of Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies, Ryukoku University* 22.
- Eimer, Helmut and David Germano, eds. 2002. *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the IATS, 2000*. Leiden: Brill.
- Germano, David. 1998. "Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet: Contemporary Tibetan Visionary Movements in the People's Republic of China." In Goldstein 1998, pp. 53-94.
- _____. 2002. "The Seven Descents and the Early History of Rnying ma Transmissions." In Eimer 2002, pp. 225-264.
- Goldstein, Melvin C. and Kapstein, Matthew. eds., 1998. *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goodman, Steven D. 1983. *The 'Klong-Chen Snying-Thig': An Eighteenth Century Tibetan Revelation*. Ph.D. thesis. The University Of Saskatchewan.
- _____. 1992. "Rig-dzin Jigs-med gling-pa and the Klong-Chen sNying-Thig." In Davidson 1992, pp. 133-147.
- Gray, David Barton. 2001. *On supreme bliss: A study of the history and interpretation of the 'Cakrasamvara Tantra'*. Ph.D. thesis. Columbia University.

- Griffiths, Paul J. 1989. "Buddhist Hybrid English: Some Notes on Philology and Hermeneutics for Buddhologists." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 12.1.
- Guenther, Herbert V. 1984. *Matrix of Mystery: Scientific and Humanistic Aspects of rDzogs-chen Thought*. Boulder: Shambhala.
- _____. 1987a. *The Creative Vision: the symbolic recreation of the world according to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of Tantric visualization otherwise known as the developing phase*. Novato, CA: Lotsawa.
- _____. 1987b. "Buddhism in Tibet." *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 2, ed. Mircea Eliade, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- _____. 1994. "Meditation Differently: Phenomenological-psychological Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist Practices from Original Tibetan Sources." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, v 114, Oct/Dec 1994.
- Gyatrul Rinpoche. 1992. *The Secret Oral Teachings on Generating the Deity*. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1981. *The Literary Traditions Of Thang-stong rGyal-po: A Study Of Visionary Buddhism In Tibet*. Ph.D. diss., University Of California at Berkeley.
- _____. 1986. "Signs, Memory and History: A Tantric Buddhist Theory of Scriptural Transmission." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9.2: 7-35.
- _____. 1992. "Genre, Authorship and Transmission in Visionary Buddhism: the Literary Traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po." In Davidson 1992, pp. 96-106.
- _____. 1993. "The Logic Of Legitimation In The Tibetan Treasure Tradition." *History Of Religions*, 33, No. 2.
- _____. 1994. "Guru Chos-dbang's gTer 'byung chen mo: an early survey of the treasure tradition and its strategies in discussing Bon treasure." *Occasional Papers- Institute For Comparative Research In Human Culture* No 1/1.
- _____. 1996. "Drawn from the Tibetan Treasury: The gTer ma Literature." In Cabezón, 1995.
- _____. 1998. *Apparitions of the Self*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 1999. "Healing burns with fire: The facilitations of experience in Tibetan Buddhism." *Journal Of The American Academy Of Religion*, 67, No. 1.

- _____ and David Germano. 2000. "Longchenpa and the Possession of the Ḍākinī." In White 2000.
- _____. N.d. "The Relic Text as Prophecy: The Semantic Drift of *Byang-bu* and Its Appropriation in the Treasure Tradition." Unpublished paper.
- Hanna, Span. 1994. "Vast as the Sky: The Terma Tradition in Modern Tibet." In Samuel 1994.
- Harding, Sarah. 2003. *The Life and Revelations of Pema Lingpa*. Ithaca: Snowlion.
- Hartzell, James Francis. 1997. *Tantric Yoga: a study of the Vedic precursors, historical evolution, literatures, cultures, doctrines, and practices of the 11th century Kasmīri, Saivite and Buddhist unexcelled Tantric yogas*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Columbia.
- Hopkins, Jeffrey. 1977. *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- _____. 1984. *The tantric Distiction: An Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*. London : Wisdom.
- Hummel, S. 1952. "Der Lamaistische Ritualdolch (Phur bu) und die Altvorderorientalischen Nagelmenschen." *Asiatische Studien*, VI, 1-4.
- _____. 1972. *Vajrakila*. *Wiss. Z. Universität Halle*, 22.
- _____. 1974. *Noch einmal Vajrakila*. *Wiss. Z. Universität Halle*, 23.
- _____. 1997. "The Lamaist Ritual Dagger (*phur bu*) and the Old Middle Eastern "Dirk Figures."" In *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXII, no. 4, pp. 23-32.
- Huntington, J.C. 1975. *The Phur-ba: Tibetan Ritual Daggers*. Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers.
- Jackson, Roger. 1985. "Kalachakra in Context" in Sopa 1985, pp. 1-50.
- Kapstein, Matthew. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Karmey, Samten G. 1972. *The Treasury of Good Sayings: a Tibetan History of Bon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1975. "A discussion on the Doctrinal Position of the rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries." *Journal Asiatique* 263.

- _____. 1988. *The Great Perfection (rDzogs chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Katsumi, Mimaki. 1994. "Doxographie tibétaine et classifications indiennes" in *Bouddhisme et culture locales: Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations. Actes du colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991*. Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman, eds., Paris: Études Thématiques 2., pp. 115--136.
- Kawamura, L. S. 1984. "Thus Have I Said – A Preliminary Study of the Tantra." In *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. Vol 1. 1984.
- _____. 1992. "On 'Jigs-med gling-pa's Dris lan rin po che'i bstan bcos/lung gi gter mdzod." *Monograph Series- Naritasan Institute For Buddhist Studies Occasional Papers*, No 2.
- Khenpo Namdrol Rinpoche. 1997. *Vajrakilaya*. London: Dharmakosa.
- _____. 1999. *The practice of Vajrakilaya*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.
- Khetsun Sangpo Rinbochay. 1982. *Tantric Practice in Nying-ma*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.
- Khyentse, Dilgo. 1988. *The Wish-Fulfilling Jewel: The Practice of Guru Yoga According to the Longchen Nyingthig Tradition*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Kon-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, Harding, Sarah. 1996. *Creation & completion - essential points of tantric meditation*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Kongtrul, Jamgon. 1999. *Light of Wisdom vol. 1-2*. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- Kvaerne, Per. 1983. "The 'Great Perfection' in the Traditions of the Bonpos." In Lai, 1983, pp. 367-91.
- _____. 1987. "Protection Against Natural Dangers - A Translation And Commentary On Tibetan Ritual Texts In The 'Rin Chen Gter Mdzod'." *Bulletin Of The School Of Oriental And African Studies-University Of London*, 50, No. P3.
- _____. ed. 1994. *Tibetan Studies : Proceedings of the 6th International Association of Tibetan Studies Seminar*. 2 vols. Oslo: Insitute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- Lai, Whalen. 1983. *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.

- Lalou, Marcelle. 1953. "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan." *Journal Asiatique* 241: 313-52.
- Lessing, F.D., and A. Wayman. 1968. *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.
- Levenson, Claude B., Hamani, Laziz. 1996. *Symbols of Tibetan Buddhism*. Paris: Editions Assouline.
- Linrothe, Robert N. 1999. *Ruthless Compassion : Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Lopez, Donald S. 1998. *Prisoners of Shangri-la*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Marcotty, Thomas. 1987. *Dagger Blessing: The Tibetan Phurpa Cult – Reflections and Materials*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Martin, Dan. 1997. *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. London: Serindia Publications.
- _____. 2001. *Unearthing Bon Treasures : Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Bibliography of Bon*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mayer, Robert. 1991. "Observations on the Tibetan Phur-ba and the Indian Kīla." In T. Skorupski, ed., *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. 2, pp. 163-192. Also appearing as "Tibetan Phur pas and Indian kīlas." In *The Tibet Journal*, Vol XV, no 1, 1990.
- _____. 1996. *A scripture of the ancient Tantra collection: the Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*. Edinburgh: Kiscadale.
- Meredith, G. 1967. "The Phurpu: The Use and Symbolism of the Tibetan Magic Dagger." *History of Religions*, VI. 3, pp.236-53.
- Mimaki, Katsumi. 1994. "Doxographie tibétaine et classifications indiennes." *Etudes Thematiques. Bouddhisme et cultures locales: Quelques cas de reciproques adaptations*. Paris: Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient, 115-136.
- Mipham Jamyang Namgyal Gyatso. 2003. *A Commentary on the Ornament of the Middle Way: The oral Transmission that Delights the Master of Gentle Melody*. Provo, Utah: Global Scholarly Publications.
- Nālandā Translation Committee. 1980. *The Rain of Wisdom*. Boulder: Shambhala.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Renè de. 1956. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. The Hague: Mouton.

Neumaier, E. K. 1969. "Einige Aspekte der gTer-ma Literatur der rNying-ma-pa Schule." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Suppl. 1.

_____. 1992. *The Sovereign All-Creating Mind – The Motherly Buddha: A Translation of the Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*. Albany: Suny Press.

Newman, John R. 1985. "A Brief History of the Kalachakra" in Sopa 1985, pp. 51-90.

Obermiller, E. 1931-32. *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston*. Heidelberg: Otto Harrassowitz.

Padma Sambhava. 1994. *Advice from the lotus-born*. Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.

Patrul Rinpoche. 1994. *The Words of My Perfect Teacher: kinzang lama'i shelung*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.

Paul, Robert. 1982. *The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pemala, Lopon. 1995. *The treasure revealer of Bhutan: Pemalingpa, the terma tradition and its critics*. Kathmandu, Nepal: EMR Pub. House.

Pemba, Lhamo. 1996. *Tibetan Proverbs*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Pettit, John. 1999. *Mipham's Beacon of Certainty Illuminating the View of Dzogchen, the Great Perfection*. Boston: Wisdom.

Prats, R. "Some Preliminary Considerations Arising from a Biographical Study of the Early gTer-ston." In Michael Aris & A. S. Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*, Oxford, 1979.

Rangdröl, Tsele Natsok. 1993. *Empowerment and the Path of Liberation*. Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe.

Robinson, James Burnell. 1995. "The Lives of Indian Buddhist Saints: Biography, Hagiography and Myth" in Cabezón 1995.

Roerich, George. 1949, 1953. *The Blue Annals*. 2 vols. Clacutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen. 2002. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*. New York: State University of New York Press.

- Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Samuel, Geoffrey, Hamish Gregor, and Elisabeth Stutchbury, eds. 1994. *Tantra and Popular Religion in Tibet*. Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- Schmidt, Erik H. 1989. *The Great Gate*. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- _____. 1999. *The Rangjung Yeshe Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Culture*. Version 2.0. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- Schuh, Dieter. 1973a. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- _____. 1973b. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrücke*. Vol. 5. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- _____. 1976. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrücke*. Vol. 6. Gesammelte Werke des kon-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Schwieger, Peter. 1990. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrücke*. Vol. 10. Die mTshur-pu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, Bände 1 bis 14. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Singh, N. 1989. "The Collective Varjakilaya Retreat (Phur Drub)." *Tibet Journal*. XIV. 2, pp. 49-55.
- Smith, E. Gene. 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. 1993. *What is scripture? : a comparative approach*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Snellgrove, David. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra : a critical study*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*. 2 vols. Boston: Shambhala.
- Snellgrove, David, and Hugh Richardson. 1968. *A Cultural History of Tibet*. Rev. ed. Boston: Shambhala, 1986.
- Sopa, Geshe Lhundrup, Roger Jackson and John Newman. 1985. *The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context*. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

- Sparham, Gareth and Khamtul Rinpoche. 1994. *Dzog Chen Meditation*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Thondup, Tulku. 1986. *Hidden Teachings of Tibet: An Explanation of the Terma Tradition of the Nyingma School of Buddhism*. London: Wisdom.
- _____. 1989. *Buddha Mind: An Anthology of Longchen Rabjam's Writings on Dzogpa Chenpo*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.
- _____. 1990. "The Terma Tradition of the Nyingmapa School." *The Tibet Journal*, vol. XV, no. 4, pp. 149- 158.
- _____. 1996. *Masters of Meditation and Miracles: The Longchen Nyingthig Lineage of Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Thurman, Robert A. F., Roether, Barbara. 1995. *Inside Tibetan Buddhism: rituals and symbols revealed*. San Francisco, Calif.: Collins Publishers San Francisco.
- Tillemans, Tom. 1995. "Remarks on Philology." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol 18, 2, pp. 269-278.
- Tobgyal, Urgyen. 1988. *The life and teachings of Chokgyur Lingpa*. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- Tsogyal, Yeshe. 1999. *The Lotus-Born: the Life Story of Padmasambhava*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Tsuda, Shinichi. 1965. "Classification of Tantras in dPal brtsegs's lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa and Its Problems" in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 402-397.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1980. *The Religions of Tibet*. Trans. Geoffrey Samuel. Repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Urgyen, Tulku. 1995. *Trinley Nyingpo Commentary '95*. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- _____. 2000. *The Lineage of Chokling Tersar*. Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications.
- Vostrikov, A. I..1970. *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Soviet Indology Series no. 4. Calcutta: R. K. Maitra.
- Waddel, L. Austine. 1972. *Tibetan Buddhism – With Its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology*. New York: Dover Publications.

- Wangdu, Pasang and Hildegard Diemberger. 2000. *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative concerning the bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Wayman, Alex. 1977. *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- _____. 1981. "Notes on the Phur-bu." *Journal of the Tibet Society*, 1, pp. 79-85.
- _____. 1995. *The Buddhist Tantras : light on Indo-Tibetan esotericism*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Wedemeyer, Christian. 1999. *Vajrayana and its doubles: A critical historiography, exposition, and translation of the Tantric works of Aryadeva*. Ph.D. thesis. Columbia University.
- White, David Gordon, ed. 2000. *Tantra in practice*. Princeton : Princeton University Press.
- Williams, Paul. 2001. *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. London: Routledge.
- Wylie, Turrel. 1959. "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22.
- Zangpo, Ngawang. 1994. *Jamgon Kongtrul's Retreat Manual*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.
- _____. 2001. *Sacred Ground: Jamgon Kongtrul on "Pilgrimage and Sacred Geography"*. New York: Snow Lion Publications.

Appendix A: *Zab bdun phur pa* texts contained in *The New Treasures*³³⁹

Volume TSA – 17

- Text no: PT TSA 4
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi rgyud kyi rtsa dum phur bzhi don chen dam pa'i rgyun sogs nas cog brdung glo bur sgrub pa'i bar bcas*
 Pages: 71-204
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Karma'i dam can brag
 Description: Phur pa Treasure text
- Text no: PT TSA 5
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi brgyud 'debs byang chub lam bzang*
 Pages: 205-208
 Author(s): Zla bzang sprul ming pa kar ma nges don bstan pa rab rgyas
 Date: -
 Site: Sa spyod gsung gi 'khor lo
 Description: Phur pa lineage prayer
- Text no: PT TSA 6
 Tibetan title: *Sngon gtor*
 Pages: 209-210
 Author(s): -
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Local deity *gtor ma* offering
- Text no: PT TSA 7
 Tibetan title: *Skyabs sems*
 Pages: 211-212
 Author(s): -
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa refuge and *bodhicitta* verses
- Text no: PT TSA 8
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig las las byang phrin las 'dus pa*
 Pages: 213-221
 Author(s): a) Sprul pa'i gter chen mchog gyur gling pa
 b) Prajñā Jñāna
 Date: -
 Site: Karma'i dam can brag

³³⁹ Mchog gyur 1982a. Text numbers refer to Doctor 2002.

Description: Phur pa condensed *sādhana*

Text no: PT TSA 9

Tibetan title: *Rdzas phur byin rlabs*

Pages: 223-224

Author(s): O rgyan chen po'i phrin las mchog gyur gling pa

Date: -

Site: -

Description: Blessing of the material substance *kīla*

Text no: PT TSA 10

Tibetan title: *Sman mchod*

Pages: 225-226

Author(s): Zla ming pa

Date: -

Site: -

Description: Phur pa *amṛta* offering

Text no: PT TSA 11

Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mngon spyod phur pa las bstod bskul rdo rje'i thog 'bebs*

Pages: 227-235

Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa

Date: -

Site: R: Nam mkha' mdzod

W: Dil yag dgon theg chen rdo rje gling

Description: Praise and exhortation of the phur pa deities

Text no: PT TSA 12

Tibetan title: *Japa khang dbye ba*

Pages: 237-238

Author(s): -

Date: -

Site: -

Description: Dividing the recitation palace

Text no: PT TSA 13

Tibetan title: *Sngags byang*

Pages: 239-241

Author(s): -

Date: -

Site: -

Description: Phur pa *mantra*

Text no: PT TSA 14

Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig las tshe 'gugs*

Pages: 243-244

Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Karma'i dam can brag
 Description: Phur pa life hook ritual

Text no: PT TSA 15
 Tibetan title: *zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi bka' srung sgrub pa'i phrin las*
 Pages: 245-255
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: R: Mdo khams nam mkha' mdzod
 W: Tsa 'dra rin chen brag dpal spungs
 Description: Phur pa protector ritual

Text no: PT TSA 16
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi bka' srung shwa na chen mo sgrub pa'i phrin las*
 Pages: 257-273
 Author(s): Mchog gyur bde chen gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: R: Mdo khams nam mkha' mdzod
 W: Tsa 'dra rin chen brag gi gyas phyogs dpal spungs thub stan chos 'khor gling
 Description: Shwa na chen mo *sādhana*

Text no: PT TSA 17
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi phur srung shwa na chen po'i gtor mchog*
 Pages: 275-301
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Nam mkha' mdzod
 Description: Shwa na chen mo *gtor ma* ritual

Text no: PT TSA 18
 Tibetan title: *Dpal chen rdo rje phur pa'i skong ba bdud 'dul sngags gling ma*
 Pages: 303-307
 Author(s): Padma gar dbang blo gros mtha' yas
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa mending ritual

Text no: PT TSA 19
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi bka' srung shwa na chen po'i bskang ba'i las rim*
 Pages: 309-320

Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Nam mkha' mdzod
 Description: Shwa na chen po protector mending ritual

Text no: PT TSA 20
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi bdag 'jug bde chen rab 'bar*
 Pages: 321-332
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Kar ma'i ri khrod bde chen gling
 Description: Phur pa self-empowerment

Text no: PT TSA 21
 Tibetan title: *Zab pa skor bdun las yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig go khog dbub dngos grub gter mdzod*
 Pages: 333-482
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Sa spyod gsung gi gnas mchog 'og min kar ma'i gtsug lag khang chen po'i nye char gsang sngags pho brang rdo rje
 Description: Phur pa *sādhana* framework

Text no: PT TSA 22
 Tibetan title: *Dpal yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi smad las e khrom gyi phrin las gtor zlog dang 'brel ba'i gdab kha bdud dpung 'joms pa'i mtshon cha*
 Pages: 483-558
 Author(s): Guṇaḥ
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa “Lower activity” ritual.

Text no: PT TSA 23
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mchog zab yang dag gi shwa na chen po'i zlog pa'i phrin las bcol ba*
 Pages: 559-569
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Nam mkha' mdzod
 Description: Shwa na chen po reversal ritual

Volume TSHA – 18

Text no: PT TSHA 1
 Tibetan title: *Zab pa skor bdun gyi las bzhi'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga grub pa'i zhal lung las phur pa'i zhi ba'i sbyin sreg zhur phyungs nur 'gros su bkod pa*

- Pages: 1-25
 Author(s): -
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa peaceful fire offering
- Text no: PT TSHA 2
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg grub gnyis rab 'bar*
 Pages: 27-47
 Author(s): -
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa increasing fire offering
- Text no: PT TSHA 3
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi dbang gi sbyin sreg nor bu'i lcags kyu*
 Pages: 49-67
 Author(s): -
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa magnetizing fire offering
- Text no: PT TSHA 4
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi drag po me'i las sbyor bskal pa'i me chen rab 'bar*
 Pages: 69-87
 Author(s): Mkhan po ratna
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa subjugating fire activity
- Text no: PT TSHA 5
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mngon spyod phur pa las gri 'dul gyi cho ga*
 Pages: 89-110
 Author(s): Mchog gyur gling pa
 Date: R: 12/07/ 1856 (*, 50, 6, 10) W: 30/12/1857 (*, 51, 11, 15)
 Site: R: Mdo khams yel brag nam mkha' mdzod
 W: 'Og min kar ma'i ri khrod
 Description: Phur pa knife taming ritual
- Text no: PT TSHA 6
 Tibetan title: *Zab pa skor bdun las yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi smin byed khyer bde rnam gsal du bkod pa rig mchog gsang ba'i bcud 'bebs*
 Pages: 111-158
 Author(s): Padma gar gyi dbang phyug blo gros mtha' yas pa'i sde

- Date: -
 Site: Rdzong shod bde gshegs 'dus pa'i pho brang
 Description: Phur pa empowerment ritual
- Text no: PT TSHA 7
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun thugs kyi phur gcig las tshe gyang dpal gyi be'u*
 Pages: 159-174
 Author(s): Mchog gling gnyis pa padma dbang chen las rab rdo rje
 Date: -
 Site: Rgyam gangs mgul g.yu mtsho'i sgrub gnas
 Description: Phur pa life luck
- Text no: PT TSHA 8
 Tibetan title: *Zab bdun mngon spyod phur pa las bstan srung shwa na chen po'i yongs rdzogs gtor ma'i dbang mchog mthu rtsal nus pa'i bcud 'bebs*
 Pages: 175-186
 Author(s): 'Chi med bstan gnyis gyung drung gling pa
 Date: -
 Site: Rdzong shod bde gshegs 'dus pa'i pho brang
 Description: Shwa na chen po empowerment ritual
- Text no: PT TSHA 9
 Tibetan title: *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi lha khrid gsal bar bkod pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i shal lung*
 Pages: 187-232
 Author(s): Tsha ba bhan dhe karma rin chen rnam rgyal
 Date: -
 Site: -
 Description: Phur pa deity meditation instructions
- Text no: PT TSHA 10
 Tibetan title: *Guru'i thugs dam zab pa skor bdun las mngon spyod drag po'i las kyi zab pa yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi spyi don rnam bshad rig 'dzin rtsal 'chang rnam gnyis kyi zhal lung zab don bang mdzod*
 Pages: 233-411
 Author(s): 'Dul 'dzin mkhan po karma rin chen dar rgyas dpal bzang po
 Date: 24/05/1876 – 21/06/1876 (*, 10, 4, *)
 Site: *og min stod lung mtshur phu*
 Description: Commentary on the general purpose for Rdo rje phur pa